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Affirmative Action in Brazil: Affirmation or Denial?

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Affirmative Action in Brazil: Affirmation or denial?

by

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Dedication

To those who tirelessly struggle against racism.

To those whose dreams of a future were discredited.

To those who did not have the chance to live.

To black women and men who survived.

To those who critically engage in the discussion of affirmative action.

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Abstract

Affirmative Action in Brazil: Affirmation or Denial?

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Affirmative action for blacks has been implemented in recent years mainly as racial quota system at public universities in Brazil. The topic became nationally debated when the racial quota system of the University of Brasilia was adopted. Racial quotas were questioned in the Brazilian Supreme Court with the argument that they were unconstitutional. At the same time, the previous governments has been favorable of inclusive policies and extended the scope of affirmative action adoption. However, why the conservative reaction to racial quotas continued to socially and institutionally expand in spite of their implementation in many universities? The focus of this thesis was to frame these reactions in an institutional perspective by hypothesizing in this research that institutional racism could be addressed as non-recognition of black Brazilians as full subjects of rights considering their identity fragmentation due to the processes of racial formation that undermined racial solidarity, identification, and political participation through miscegenation. In order to investigate the identity framing of institutional racism,

the racial quotas system at the University of Brasilia was chosen for policy process analysis. The Advocacy Coalition Framework was the choice of analysis because it permits to observe the policy process since the discussions that aimed to insert the problem of black exclusion in the higher education subsystem to the evaluation of policy implementation based on the approved documents to the broad implications considering the scope of actions from those who shared the beliefs by which coalitions are motivated to act. The results point to the maintenance of racial democracy in the coalition actors' beliefs that affirm the non-existence of race, the impossibility of black identity, and advocate for the no-racist character of Brazilian identity due to its population racial mixing. Therefore, the hypothesis presented indications of being politically relevant since this research found indications that institutional racism can be framed as non-recognition of black identity by those responsible for its implementation, consciously or not led by individuals through the institutional gaps that do not present any mechanism of coercion or reward for managers to be interested in the full development of affirmative action.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
Introduction.....	1
Methodology	12
Outline	21
Institutional Racism and Race Identity Politics	22
Race, Racism and Racial Formation.....	23
Identity Formation	29
Recognition and Solidarity	33
Brazilian Cotext of Racial Relations	36
(Black) (Queer) Feminism	49
Critical Race Theory Contribution	59
Case Study: Racial Quota Sytem of the University of Brasilia	68
Policy Analysis.....	92
Mapping the Actors.....	95
Conditions for Program Effectiveness	106
Advocacy Coalition Formation.....	114
Conclusion	138
Glossary	147
Bibliography	148

List of Tables

Table 1:	System of Beliefs	126
----------	-------------------------	-----

List of Figures

Figure 2: Policy Process Analysis	94
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Introduction

I do not believe that it is possible for a university think about racism, by the black's perspective, not by the white, without an affirmative action policy for the students. (black woman Masters candidate)

Normally, when the black is identified as such in Brazil, he loses, but the quota system made the black win. (black student)

For the ideology of the state, in which the university is one of its pillars, black identity does not exist¹. (black woman senior student)

Affirmative Action has been considered instrumental for racial and ethnic inclusion in higher education in Brazil. Its relevance and necessity has been discussed by society and students considering that Brazilian governments have been implementing affirmative action for its black² population in recent years. Affirmative action is a special measure that aims to promote some individuals that because of their differences – race, gender, sex, physical impairments, for example – are blocked from social and economic ascension. These policies protect or give incentive to these groups until the target social barrier is eliminated. They are temporary measures with the objective of repairing a past and a present of discriminatory practices (Santos, 2007). However, there is still a conservative reaction in all social spheres, from individuals to institutions, mainly those measures that emphasize race policy. Despite the fact that such policies have already been implemented, why is there still a non-acceptance at different levels of institutional

¹ Black students (from racial quota system) comment about the racial quotas at the University of Brasilia and affirmative action adoption in Brazil during focus group discussion and survey research.

² During this thesis, Black is the word choice for referring to race as an aggregation of color groups according to official Brazilian color classification: “preto” (black) and “pardo” (brown).

power and sectors of civil and political society? This inquiry seeks to analyze affirmative action from the standpoint of feminist and recognition theories. The aim is to understand this continual conservative reactions by approaching it from the vantage point of identity formation, its dynamics, acceptance and recognition, or not. As new subjectivities emerge with black students who are from a racial quota system, new challenges are highlighted and new forms racism, or the reasons for adopting a racist and discriminatory posture, arise. Thus, this research intends to explain the rejection of affirmative action, and through the results, contribute to proposals to combat institutional racism by analyzing the specific way identity non-recognition results in racist practices, considering individual and institutions spheres.

The most relevant, or at least publicly debated, kind of affirmative action is the quotas systems for black in public universities. By Brazilian government official data and racial classification, “Negro” (black) is the racial category encompass socio-economic data that confirms the statistically insignificant differentiation between blacks (preto) and browns (pardo) as color categories (Rocha, 2006; Santos, 2007)³. The agency responsible for researching and publishing this data is the “Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística” (IBGE – Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) in partnership with the “Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada” (IPEA Institute of Applied Economic Research). Since 2009, significant organized conservative reactions aimed to declare racial quotas systems unconstitutional by an official process in Courts with the support of

³ However, this thesis uses the term Black for this racial group as the best English translation.

political parties and government officials, even after years of implementation in some universities. In Brazil, it is important to note that public universities offer free tuition bills, but they are mostly attended by the upper and middle classes, which are predominantly white. Some quota seats are applied to low-income or indigenous in many universities, but these cases are not in the agenda for juridical, public, and social questioning. The “Supremo Tribunal Federal” (STF – Federal Supreme Court) judged, in April 2012, a specific case that could set a precedent for canceling racial quotas and affirmative action policies in general. The court voted for the constitutionality of the racial quota system specifically and affirmative action in general. Thus, the importance of the topic in the national agenda of discussions and decision-making processes is clear as further evidenced by the approval, in August 2012, of a law that will extend affirmative action to all public universities. The analysis conducted in this thesis will focus on the University of Brasilia’s quota system, as a case study, the subject of constitutional contestation in the Supreme Court and the federal university that was the first to consider the variable of race alone for affirmative action.

The aim of this inquiry is to bring an additional interpretation of institutional racism that persists in spite of the adoption of affirmative action in many spheres of public power. Specifically, institutional racism that blocks the full implementation and management of affirmative action policies will be observed. The government apparently acts with ambiguity by seeking to implement these policies on one hand, but on the other hand, it is making the implementation more difficult, intentionally or not. Therefore, the

general objective of this research is to assess the quotas system (as a case study) in order to undertake a theoretical analysis of the hypothesis that guides this study: institutional racism persists due to the lack of recognition of black Brazilians as subjects of rights; therefore, they are not considered legitimate subjects to demand specific public policies by those responsible for their implementation, specifically bureaucracy not compromised with government's agenda. Additionally, the research topic is inserted into a broader discussion of denial of race, discrimination, and racism along with their leverage on the downward social trajectory of black and brown populations, in which for blacks is denied the right for claiming identity and the role racial exclusion has in making difficult access to public goods and social mobility.

Noting the development of the state of social welfare in Brazil, it is possible to observe that there are no constitutional or juridical limits that explicitly prohibit the implementation of affirmative action in a broader sense. However, there have been several heated discussions about affirmative action for blacks while it is not questioned for other groups such as quotas to indigenous people, or poor people, or even children of dead policemen, for instance. The discourse extends to themes beyond racism, such as identity, racialization, and denial of the social and economic difficulties resulting from negative discrimination based on racism and prejudice. These topics are at the heart of this thesis and it is framed by theoretical analysis of politics and public policy from a perspective of (black) (queer) feminist, recognition and critical race theories as well as by

those authors who have framed Brazilian racial relation in terms of the non-existence of a racial democracy and equal opportunities.

At the end of the 1980s, post-structuralist and post-modernist approaches of feminism questioned whether language reflects and/or personifies reality based on the production of Foucault and Derrida, for instance (Vincent, 2010, 178). These analyses which primarily originated in literary and cultural criticism focus on how language forms the structure of discourse. These structures are the subjects of analysis. Denouncing the predominance of the masculine reference point to refer to all subjects leads us back to the need for a deconstruction and decentering subjects from this traditional reference to masculinity. While society has been more inclusive of women, the problem of universalism, essentialism, and dualism persist and traditional hierarchies and subordinations continue to be maintained through systems of domination. It was necessary to delineate other categories in which men and women are both included such as work, class, race and citizenship. Gender theories arise as a response to analysis of the social and cultural construction of the feminine and masculine. They investigate the social construction of subjects by observing how relations of power, domination and subordination are entangled together. Post-structural and post-modern feminism includes the comprehension of how subjects are constituted, within the cultural meanings and representations that are permeated with power relations while tracing their genealogy (Foucault) or deconstructing discursive formations (Derrida). This critical theory also dialogues with the equality/difference dualism because deconstructing race is much less

accepted due to the tendency of essentialization (Wilchins, 2004, 109). This discussion is important to the understanding of race relations considering demands of specific public policy that requires compulsory identity affirmation and identification.

In denying the biological constitution of identity, what will the references to identify subjects consist of? For Butler (2003), the subject is constituted discursively, is contingent, is political, and this constitution takes place through exclusion. This perspective rejects identity as a prerequisite for collective feminist action, since deconstructing the feminist subject would be to free it from standardization and fixation. Could the deconstruction of the subject mean a fragmentation of the political struggle? Butler's answer is no. The criticism of essentialism and the defense of differentiation could reinvigorate the movements. For her, there is an interesting differentiation with respect to its prerogative between identity politics, identity affirmation, the politics of coalition building, and the building of contingent alliances. In analyzing the black movement from the standpoint of destabilization, the following questions arise: who is black in Brazil? Is a unified black identity necessary for collective action? Or is a single black identity legitimated to demand public policy?

Identity is constructed through participatory practices, where networks of solidarity are fundamental to this process of constitution of a collective identity through the strengthening of personal identity (Pizzorno, 1975). Identity as a key factor in collective action is evoked in speaking of the theories of recognition. Recognition is something deeper since it comes from the value of "I", in the individual sense and from a

relationship with others, in which this one recognizes their existence as an autonomous being and also as a political “subject of rights” (Honneth, 2003). However, what we observe is that there is a recognition deficit with certain groups. Indeed, there is the continued issue of redistribution, which is still unresolved by modern capitalism. Fraser’s thesis (1999) is that there should be an association between recognition and redistribution of income when dealing with social struggles as a question of justice, and thus an interaction between protecting the group identity, cultural and material, economic and political redistribution. This dilemma is treated as an issue of justice in the sense that an economic injustice creates inequalities and is rooted in society’s political and economic structure, and a cultural or symbolic injustice carries “social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication” (Fraser, 1999). Thus, they dialectically reinforce themselves, and result in a vicious cycle of cultural and economic subordinations, in which cultural injustices are encouraged, maintained and institutionalized by the government and the economy. Recognition, for her, is not only linked to individual satisfaction, but rather is fundamentally an issue of justice, which can lead to recognition to be analyzed as institutionalized discriminatory practices “because racist and Eurocentric cultural norms are institutionalized in the state and the economy, and the economic disadvantage suffered by people of color restricts their voice (Fraser, 1999, 22)”

As race encompasses the dilemma of recognition and distribution, Hasenbalg (1979) elucidated the relationship between race and politics in Brazil, with respect to the

issue of black participation. He discusses the social mechanisms used to maintain people of color subordinated to a social order, which is antagonistic and repressive to collective action and the very notion of group and group formation. The author states that the same reasons which impeded black social mobility in the labor market form the basis of a system of multiracial categorization and fragmentation of this racial identity with grades of color. This color stratification had negative consequences such as different opportunities and fragmented identities. Therefore, social protest movements ended up being weakened due to the lack of a group identity and repression. Thus two problems held back the development of black social movements: a drained leadership due to the color continuum and the distance that this provoked between the color elite and the rest of colored populations, making the changes difficult for a surging leadership aggregate public for organized movements.

In general, racial democracy ideology in Brazil alleges that there is an absence of prejudice and discriminatory practices with a racial focus, and equal economic and social opportunities for whites and blacks as a result of political pluralism and democracy itself, within the liberal concept of citizenship. The dominant opinion is that the responsibility for the low social position of blacks is the product of a lack of individual ability and that is transferred to the social group with its denial, which occasionally creates the dismantling of inter group relations, and further, impedes the creation of solidarity linkages. Thus, the image of Brazilian racial and ethnic harmony is associated with tools

for the racial and ethnic demobilization, the dissolution of tensions, and control of areas of conflict.

Taking into consideration these factors that restrict participatory activity of the black population and the fragmentation of their racial identity through miscegenation ideal and processes as an attempt to explain political non-participation, Butler's discussion (2003) is useful when she argues that collective action does not need fixed and essential identities.. Conversely, for participating in politics as well as for implementing affirmative action, the state requires that people be a ready with complete and clear individual identifications, considering identities as factor for political action. That is, there is a stigmatization/essentialization of subjects according to how their identification is articulated in order to be considered as complete in terms of political practice, especially affirmative action that requires an identifiable target population.. This context has created a dilemma that denial of self-recognition and belonging to a specific population group (black) is well entrenched, thanks to the miscegenation of the Brazilian people (Telles, 2004; Bailey, 2009), it is necessary to declare a specific identity to have real access to affirmative action.

By considering collective action practices, it is demonstrated that identities are, and show themselves to be, multiple, as exemplified in the intersectionality, experience and resistance practices proposed by queer and black feminists (Johnson, 2005; Collins, 1991; Davis, 1983; Crenshaw, 1996; Wilchins, 2004); and subversive (Butler, 2003) as well. Despite these characteristics and multiplicity, identity politics must be legitimately

recognized (Fraser, 2003; Castells, 1999; Melluci, 1996). By these theoretical discussions we can infer that Afro-Brazilians (blacks and browns aggregated in the black racial classification) are not considered complete subjects due to the tendencies of identity fragmentation in racial terms. This can be demonstrated by the difficulties Afro-Brazilians have to self-identify and to affirm themselves as blacks, a clear racial identification that brings notion of racial belonging and ancestry (Telles, 2004; Bailey, 2009, Mitchell, 2010). The process of miscegenation and whitening of the Brazilian population were used as a strategy for domination in the Brazilian case (Hasenbalg, 1979). Considering these processes in dialogue with this research's hypothesis, blacks are not complete subjects for public policies, just as they are not for collective action, in the sense of having society recognizing the legitimacy of their political and policy demands. This non-recognition pervades institutional levels, where discriminatory practices have become institutionalized. It is important to highlight that for the black population in Brazil both income redistribution and recognition of specific demands are denied, especially when it is affirmed by a majority of scholarship that the problem in Brazil is a class issue, not racial; a fact that omit the discussion of the concept of social justice in general and what can be understood as racial justice.

Affirmative action discussion matters for those who continue to be discriminated by their color and/or race while an agenda of inclusion and of addressing racism is advocated by activists. This discussion is also considered important for those who do not believe that race play a central role on a person's exclusion as their interests are

defended, consciously or not of the racist character of certain practices. Furthermore, this debate on non-access of blacks in higher education has proportionated the public debate about race and racism by Brazilians of every social class and racial identification. Although affirmative action is important for racial inclusion, it is not the solution for racism and for the social problems blacks are submitted into. Nevertheless, their adoption was essential to address the necessity of racial equality in a country that in spite of the no existence of official segregation maintains blacks in subaltern positions with limited access to public goods and real possibilities of social mobility. The hypothesis of this thesis is that institutional racism can also be framed and understood by considering the non-recognition and negation of blacks as subjects of rights, because they present a fragmented political identity, that is, they are not viewed as complete or unique people in terms of politics or legitimacy. It is also important to recognize that the achievements of blacks in Brazil have resulted from fruitful mobilization of social movements, which even with their divergence of opinions of how to combat racial inequality, and fragmentation of identity, political ideologies and opinions, they have managed to form political coalitions to pressure for insertion of their demands on government agenda. Therefore, blacks have worked together for self-empowering as complete subjects of rights regardless social and institutional non-recognition of racial identity. .

Therefore, the theoretical framework for this thesis comes from weaving together insights drawn from feminist, recognition, and critical race theories, and those who have thought about the Brazilian racial reality. The primary data was gathered by focusing on

the relationship of the faculty, staff, and black students of a public institution, university, and the ways they perceived racism. The secondary data comes from documents and other texts that discuss or address the University of Brasilia's case. Do they think the institutional racist practice is linked with the non-recognition of black identity? Or is the problem that racism is simply structural? Or is there a racial problem at all? The research analysis focused on the decision making process of the University of Brasilia's racial quota system and it mapped the discussion about the constitution of blacks as a target population, as well.

METHODOLOGY

This research investigates the hypothesis that institutional racism persists due to the lack of recognition of black Brazilians as subjects of rights by evaluating the policy processes of decision making and implementation of the racial and ethnic quota system at the University of Brasilia. The objective is to understand why predicted objectives were not achieved such as psychological support to black students, and to learn what is happening with implementation regarding actions beyond entrance. Problems of implementation can derive from a distorted decision making process where the policy is not accepted and fully appreciated by those responsible for its management. In many cases, this fact is the main source to check whether programs are being carried out as intended or not (Weiss, 1998). The focus was on the dialogue between the top-down and

bottom-up perspectives on policy process analysis and its further developments to advocacy coalitions in order to investigate the general implications of the case study (Sabatier, 1986, 2007). Discourse analysis is included for mapping the arguments of the system of beliefs that guide coalition action, essential to the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) analysis and its broader implications due to the extension of actors over the public and private institutions and organizations. The focus on the policy processes can provide clues for an indication that institutional racism can be addressed as on non-recognition of blacks as subjects of rights considering the denial of racial discrimination and the possibility of black identity existence.

The racial quota system for black and indigenous people at the University of Brasilia is the chosen case study of policy process analysis. The system is regulated by The “Plano de Metas para a Integração Social, Étnica e Racial da Universidade de Brasília” (Plan of Goals for the Social, Ethnic, and Racial Integration of University of Brasilia). The University of Brasilia (UnB) was the first federal university to adopt and continues to implement a policy in which race is the only criterion for admission. The formal discussion for adoption of racial quotas started in 2001. In 2003 the proposal was approved and in the second semester of 2004 the system was first implemented. It is supposed to end in 2014, when evaluation for re-adoption or cancelation will be analyzed. In this system, blacks (blacks and browns in the color scheme of national classification) compete for a designated 20% of vacancies allotted through university entrance. The analysis in this thesis of UnB’s Affirmative Action program was based on

qualitative analyses of the collected material data from document research, guided interviews mainly with professors, and focus group discussion. These activities are described in detail below.

1. Document research was to provide contextual framing and mapping of the actors and their beliefs. Written material were collected such as the archives of official meetings, hearings and discussions; foundation policy documents; the process for the unconstitutionally character of the quota system in the “Supremo Tribunal Federal” (STF - Supreme Court); books and dissertations that analyze affirmative action and racial quota systems or that provide relevant information about the process at UnB. Additionally, two documentaries about the quota system were also considered: “Raça Humana” (Human Race), produced by the Federal Chamber of Deputies, and “Sob o signo da Justica” (Under the justice Sign), independently produced. I also collected documents that showed the opinions of the actors involved mainly aggregated in the “Manifesto: 113 cidadãos anti-racistas contra as leis raciais” (Manifest: 113 anti-racist citizens against the racial laws); letters from social movements organizations; and content from a blog that advocates against the program at the University and managed by a professor.

2. Interviews. Eleven interviews were conducted with members of the university who have participated in the decision making process of racial quotas adoption or who have been involved with its implementation in an extensive manner. The majority were professors. They were divided into four groups in order to observe if they have common

opinions about the decision-making process of UnB's racial quota system and its implementation.

1st group: professors who have participated actively in the process of proposal, discussion and approval of the racial quotas system at the University of Brasilia. Initially, I planned to select half of them from those who had opposed the adoption of the program, and the other half from among those who were in favor of the policy. However, it was not possible to do this because of the barriers to access the university, which was on strike by professors and staff members during the time I was conducting field research. When the strike was over, internal elections was taking place and I could not access who I wished because they were involved with them as well as with the coming activities to change the academic calendar. In spite of the strike, , however, I did have the chance to contact important people who have proposed the quota system, created the first phase of implementation, and that continue bringing up the topic for discussion in the university and organizing research to evaluate the system. I have interviewed two of them (in this first group). I would like to highlight that I have interviewed the vice-president of the university at the time of the decision to adopt affirmative action, who since then became president during the first phase of implementation, Professor Timothy Mulholland. He gave me a lot of important information about the process that led to the decision to adopt affirmative action and its subsequent implementation, as well as information about various interests involved. This specific interview was very valuable in order to make a contextual framing of the

process of adoption of racial quota system. I also have interviewed one of the authors of the proposal for the quota system, Professor Rita Laura Segato, who had also done research about the situation of public universities and the necessity of racial diversity in undergraduate and graduate studies and in departments. This interview was also very useful in order to start mapping points of disagreement among those who advocate for the policy and what they disagreed about. Both of these professors consented to be cited publicly.

2nd group: members of the “EnegreSer” (Coletivo Negro do Distrito Federal⁴ e Entorno – Black Collective of Federal District and Surrounding Areas) movement. They have actively participated in the proposal of the quota system, defense of the policy, and demands for accountability from the University. “EnegreSer” was formed by black students of many fields and degrees. I have interviewed four of them. One of them was an individual interview and the other one collective, with three of the other group members. These interviews were very inspiring experience because the students had a very close eye in the process as critical actors who had internal disagreements among themselves. Although the group is no longer together and active, their experience and activism surely have an important place in the university’s history of student activism.

3rd group: black professors who have followed the discussion for adoption of affirmative action policies and that worked at UnB after implementation of the quota system – some of these professors were not official faculty members at the time but

⁴ It corresponds to a state, where Brasilia, the capital, is located.

were visiting faculty or temporally contracted. They are also engaged in activities that the university promotes regarding black folks and racism. Some of them had experience in managing offices at the university. Thus, they provided a broader view of the process of decision and implementation of affirmative action policy. I have interviewed four of them, one of them was directly linked with the process of decision-making to adopt racial quota and followed and participated in the organization of many activities that the university promoted in order to discuss the racial quota system and racial inequality among professors and the academic community as a whole. The other two were present in the second phase of implementation, after the creation of the policy for promoting racial equality and combating xenophobia at the University. All of them were following the Supreme Court case which has declared racial quotas and affirmative action as constitutional and the Senate approval of the law that obligates all public universities to implement quota systems for those who come from public high schools, and within that group, quotas for blacks (pretos), browns (pardos), and indigenous people. The discussion now is about how each university will adapt to the new system and the possibility of maintaining the original one. However, many universities are not accepting the presidential approval of this new law, and they are presenting a juridical refusal of the proposal because it hurts the university autonomy. The last interview I conducted was with a professor who was at the university in the period after the “Caso Ari” (Ari case - a case of racism against a black PhD. student in the Department of

Anthropology) was launched in 1998, long before the discussion of racial quotas have arose.

4th group: Staff members who are strategically located in the university. I have faced many difficulties contacting staff members because the university was on strike and later, in an election process while I was conducting my field research. Many staff members were not open to sharing information such as emails and direct phone numbers of those who I considered as important actors in the implementation phase. Also, access to the staff members themselves was restricted by the strike. Indeed, some buildings were closed. I just had the chance to talk to one of them; however, the person did not provide detailed information in spite of its presence in a government secretary and active positions during the process of decision that adopted racial quotas at the UnB.

3. Focus Group: the participants were chosen based on their participation in institutional venues at the university; mainly those who had participated in the management of the “Afroatitude Program”. This program was created in order to guarantee the retention in the University of poor and black students by offering research, teaching and extension fellowships. Participants can offer an interpretation and by their self-observation on institutional racism because they have consistently participated on daily institutional life of the university. The plan was to gather up to eight students and alumni. The researcher participated in the group from 2005 to 2008 and maintains a relation of friendship with all the members who were recruited. For this reason, the researcher could explore in more detail and confidence the experiences that the

participants shared about the quota policy and institutional racism at the university. During field research, I could organize two focus groups. The activities were in the “Centro de Convivência Negra” (CCN – Center for Black Coexistence), a space that is available for their group activities. One of the focus group was formed by 4 participants, 3 women and 1 man, and other with only two participants, two women. At this group, the women initiative is exemplary not only for being available as candidate for these leadership functions, but also for being the majority of program participants.

The field research has had two different phases. The first one was the collection of documents that focus on quota system for blacks as well as mention University of Brasilia. I tried to focus on the documents that addressed the policy’s decision process such as UnB’s official documents, some conservative reaction documents, books titles that relevant specific information about the process and the university as well, and the juridical process in Court. I did not focus at all in the implementation documents because of the difficult of access. The second phase was the interviews and focus group scheduling and organization in order to gather primary information of the professors, staff, student, and alumni’s perspective of the process and the dynamic of implementation..

The main difficult aspect of the field research was the restricted access to staff members, documents, and professors thanked to the strike of public functionaries in Brazil at the period. At UnB, they were in this process since late May and it was over by October. They ended the strike because the Brazilian federal government had pressure

them arguing that it would not discuss anything else regarding the closing of public budget for the next two years. The strike was over suddenly and right after started election for new president and vice-president members, fact that has blocked me more in terms of access. However, at the same time, I could find good willingness for participating. Professors, students, and some alumni had made themselves available for participating in this research and for helping me with texts, articles, book advising about the topic, regardless their short available time.

These methodology, policy process and discourse analysis, aims to generate data from experiences of those who have actively participated on the process and implementation dynamics in order to frame the study context of discussion as well as to indicate broader implications for the use of Advocacy Coalition Framework. The objective is to frame institutional racism by the perceptions of the actors engaged in the process and in the coalition actions while linking them with the hypothesis of this inquiry regarding identity construction and recognition. In this sense, by knowing the way it is represented in discourses and institutional behaviors considering identity recognition, this research wishes to contribute to the understanding of institutional racism by locating other motivations for its persistence while racism along with the possibility of black identity is denied

OUTLINE

This plan of this thesis is as follow. First chapter describes and discusses important concepts as they are understood for analysis, the theoretical background the hypothesis is based upon, and a proposition of the way identity politics must be understood with the contribution of (black) (queer) feminist theories. The second chapter addresses the chosen case study's features and its analysis. A detailed presentation of the racial quota system adopted by University of Brasilia is provided in order to situate the reader on the context of approval and implementation. Subsequently, the policy is analyzed by Advocacy Coalition Framework analysis of policy processes while highlighting those arguments which the hypothesis is addressing: identity politics and its recognition or not as motivation for racist institutionalized practices. Finally, the conclusion discussed the indications the policy analysis can provide for understanding institutional racism regarding identity recognition.

Institutional racism and racial identity politics

Affirmative Action is a matter of public discussion in many countries that over time have marginalized and excluded ethnic and racial minorities mainly after initiatives of participation in the United Nation Conference against Racism and Xenophobia, Durban, 2001. This debate in the international sphere was fomented by internal debates in many countries where the most disputed topic was specifically linked to access to higher education. As examples of the historical character of these demands are the American and Brazilian strong demand of more inclusive access to (higher) education, the former during the civil rights moments (1960-70) and the latter after the process of re-democratization (1980-90) and legal rights for social mobilization. However, much before affirmative action appeared as a possible solution to increase the chances of overcoming negative racial discrimination, many propositions were in dispute of meaning of how to address racial relations without a proper consideration of important concepts such as race, racism, discrimination, and institutional power in different countries and realities. This chapter addresses how these concepts are framed in the discussion in order to present how the theoretical bias and bases of the hypothesis were constructed regarding recognition theory, (black) (queer) feminist and critical race theories and how they are useful for understanding the concept of institutional racism in Brazil by specifying the motive of continuation, non-recognition of blacks as complete subjects of rights.

RACE, RACISM AND RACIAL FORMATION

In general terms, race has been considered a way to categorize people who have a common origin and for cultivating group identity in physical and cultural differences (Cashmore, 1996, 924). However, the term was used in so many ways that considered only one aspect over the other, such as the social or biological, which can lead to a misguided notion because the way the concept is used, as well as the meaning aggregated to it, is determined by a specific time and location. In order to present their racial formation theory, Omi & Winant called attention to the way the concept is transformed politically as proposed by the following definition:

Race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies. Although the concept of race invokes biologically based human characteristics (so-called “phenotypes”), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process (Omi&Winant, 1994, 55).

This approach, then, considers race and racial projects as a “link between structure and representation” (Omi&Winant, 1994, 56) in which race is a common society feature internalized by consciousness or not. Societies, in a determined time, period, and context, are “racialized social structure” (Omi&Winant, 1994, 60).

Racial project dynamics engendered forms of racial discrimination and racist practices. Winant (2001) argues that racialization is the core of the modernity project: “the racialization of the world is both the cause and consequence of modernity. Race

must be grasped as a fundamental condition of individual and collective identity, a permanent, although tremendously flexible, dimension of global social structure (Winant, 2001, 3). The author discusses how the process of European nation building and colonial expansion from mercantilism to an industrialized capitalist order is the key point to understand the role of race presently. Although post World War II is a period in which race and racial lines were reconfigured and racism and racial discrimination are not legal anymore, racial hierarchies and racism translated into racial injustice and inequality continue to be part of the quotidian life of people of color. “racial politics remains unstable and conflictual” considering the interests involved by which “the West attained its prosperity and invented its democracy at the expense of those whom it exploited and excluded. The West, therefore, owes a substantial debt to the world’s ‘others’ (Winant, 2001, 15)”. Then, in the racial project of modernity that determined the social position of individuals based on their racial belonging as a way to maintain and sustain power, economic and political, as well as naturalize it, and its results are contemporary Western societies. According to Omi & Winant, these societies can be considered racist because they have created and produced structures of domination based on essentialization under categories of race, and any project with the same characteristics will also be racist (Omi&Winant,1994, 71). Thus, in general terms, racism has been identified as a kind of dogma, doctrine, or ideology by which race would determine culture and supports arguments of racial superiority (Cashmore, 1996, 307). This approach of race fomented

the enslavement of black Africans and domination around the globe by Europeans, the civilized and worthy of the incomes of capitalist expansion.

Racial discrimination is the outcome of a racist society because it is “the active and behavioral expression of racism and is aimed at denying members of certain groups equal access to scarce and valued resources” (Cashmore, 1996, 305). Critical race theorists have highlighted the role state and the law have had in shaping how race is framed among societies and institutions by the color-blind approach. In this sense as Winant (2001, 35), among others (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 2010; Crenshaw et al., 1995) argues: “In the twenty-first century, race will no long be invoked to legitimate the crucial social structures of inequality, exploitation, and injustice.” Actually, this pattern was already in development because political and cultural institutions have been protecting these process dynamics as well as it is impossible after centuries of institutionalize racist and discriminatory practices be gone after a change on legislation and regiments. Under the color-blind approach, it is difficult to address institutional racism as a structural practice because the way it has been conceptualized is referring “to the anonymous operations of discrimination in organizations, professions, or even whole societies”, and “it is anonymous in that individuals can deny the charge of racism and absolve themselves from responsibility” (Cashmore, 1996, 159). At this point we have a social and institutional barrier because state alleges that if there is a racist behavior in the institution it is an individual behavior following the color-blind approach of how institutions considers race. Although the conceptualization of institutional racism gives

space for debate regarding its broadness, it seems that nobody, state or society, want to admit or to be responsible of racist practices. The discourse line of thought, then, focus on individualism and meritocracy, in which those who claim race and racism as an everyday practice, are racist themselves and are targeted as those who want to racialize society again. These arguments are presented in both United States and Brazil regarding the question of affirmative action. These countries have different rationalities and contextual individualities, but this tendency of individualization, meritocracy, and lack of responsibility is clear.

At this point and by considering the discussion around concepts, it is clear that racism involves some kind of antipathy and inferiorization, as Blum suggests while discussing the moral significance of race and its derivation on social relations. This author also discusses the symbolic violence and structural features of racism, such as defended by others (Winant, 2001; Crenshaw et al, 1995). He summarizes the concepts in a clear manner by aggregating specific lines and by giving examples:

I suggest that all various forms of racism are related to inferiorization or antipathy (...). Personal racism consists in racist acts, beliefs, attitudes, and behavior on the part of individual persons. Social (or sociocultural) racism comprises racist beliefs, attitudes, and stereotypes widely shared within a given population and expressed in cultural and social modes such as religion, popular entertainment, advertisements, and other media. Institutional racism refers to racial inferiorizing or antipathy perpetrated by specific social institutions as schools, corporations, hospitals, or the criminal system as a totality (Blum, 2002, 9).

I have brought to the discussion some conceptualizations of race, racism, and racial formation in order to address the theoretical assumptions that surround the concept of institutional racism as is specified for this thesis and the dialogue the hypothesis has with these concepts regarding identity. By considering the way Latin American countries and specifically Brazil's racial formation projects were forged, I wish to add to the discussion of identity formation in Brazil while addressing the sense of belonging to a mixed race population that struggles for racial recognition and policies. Social movements are essential to create and/or to challenge an *unstable equilibrium* for the rising of a new social order. Once states have decided what identity determined group must belong, the present "new" social movements have identity as their first variable for solidarity for a new collective subjectivity (Omi&Winant, 1996). How has this process worked in L.A. and Brazil where identity was dismembered as a form of domination, and as symbol of national identities, and where the mestizaje project aimed to focus on whiteness while denying black heritage? The result was the formation of fragmented racial identities, individually and collectively (Hasenbalg, 1979; Baily, 2009; Telles, 2006; Mitchell, 2010). However, the role of black social movements of contestation is remarkable on the struggle for recognition for blacks as full citizens and full subjects of rights with access to public goods and chances of social upward mobility . Unfortunately, besides some successes in legislation about affirmative action or expansion of rights, these populations (black and brown) continue to be framed as incomplete subjects or subjects of difficult identification such as the ambiguous position that the state has

assumed on one side it should implement a specific policy making clear racial identification while defending national identity, on the other side, the policies must not be considered racist or negatively discriminatory for other groups). Additionally, affirmative policy implementation continues to be problematic, accordingly to many black movement activists, they are more difficult to implement than universal policies because institutional racism blocks their full implementation (Inesc, 2012).

Considering how black identity formation dynamics occurred in Brazil the following hypothesis is proposed: institutional racism can also be understood by the persisting non-recognition of black Brazilians as full subjects of rights; therefore, they are not considered legitimated subjects able to demand specific public policies, such as affirmative action. The next sections, the process of identity formation regarding collective identity and participation in social movements will be discussed. The recognition approach to identity is in this framework as well as the redistribution aspect not solved by contemporary capitalism. The location of historical and political implications of racial democracy and how black identity was constructed in order to mine racial solidarity will also be discussed considering the contributions of (black) (queer) feminist discussion of how social construction of identity are fluid and not fixed. This thesis' argument is mostly based on (black) (queer) feminist discussion in order to argue for the legitimacy of identity policy and politics besides black identity fragmentation. Finally, I locate the contribution of Critical Race Theory by addressing the structural character of the contemporary racism considering how formal racial discrimination was

outside the legal system but present in everyday life of institutional dynamics. This section will also discuss how white supremacy is imbricated on whiteness as property as a key component of the racial stratification and fragmentation of black Brazilians identification

IDENTITY FORMATION

The question about what makes people want to participate in politics and to break with apathy and political disinterest continues to be at the center of the discussion about social movements. The focus of this discussion is that identity is the basis for political participation. Identity is the essence of the new social movements (NSM) Different from those traditional social movements based on the class struggle, which were typical of the nineteenth century, the NSM struggle is not only because of economic inequality, but rather their focus on other issues crosses other subjects, such as the way a person thinks about the world and itself. The appearance of NSM and its analysis was in the post-World War II era, mainly in the decades of 1960-70. These groups discussed and struggled with environment preservation, sexual rights, and nuclear activity, for instance. However, their objectives were punctual and did not address changes on the systems these issues were inserted; the structure of domination is not questioned at all as “traditional” social movements did at the time, and members’ structural roles are not addressed, indeed. Laraña et al. (1994) present the characteristics of the NSM, with the new features of

identity claims, and they claim that mobilization is focused on symbolic and cultural features of individuals. This post-industrial and post-war society has changed “The freedom to have” for the “freedom to be” (Melucci, 1989, 177-178 – Laraña et al., 1994). Therefore, we can say that identity became the center according to these new analyses under the globalization of communication, information, and networks around the world and their influences on the features of the NSM.

Laraña (1994) argues that individual identities are formed through social processes by which an individual constructs an image of “self” based on his/her biological inheritance and social interactions. The author also highlights the role ideology still has while shaping one’s identity in order to open ways of collective interaction by shared beliefs and visions of the world. I am not entering into the discussion of the real newness of NSM that Melucci (1996, 73) addresses or the social movement literature in general; however, I want to highlight his definition of collective identity that brings to this analysis notions of self-reflexive ability, causality and belonging, and perceived duration, as well as recognition, because identity relationships happen in interaction with others. Although the concept of identity always carries an idea of “permanence” that this thesis questions, collective identity can be defined as

an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientation of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the actions take place. It is built through shared definitions of the situation of its members, and it is a result of a process of negotiation and ‘laborious adjustment’ of different elements relating to the end and means of collective action and its relation to the environment. By this process

of interaction, negotiation and conflict over the definition of the situation, and the movement's reference frame, members construct the collective 'we' (Laraña, 1994, 15).

It is interesting to note that these proposition distanced from rational choice analysis of collective action which focus on the individual calculus of cost and benefits. In summary, collective identity is "an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution" (Polleta & Jasper, 2001, 285).

By involving the social relationships of everyday life and symbolic interpretation of reality, the role of experience is essential in this discussion because it shapes individual and collective identity, motor of collective action on a NSM framework. Although experience is not necessarily linked with the imagined feature of the way one perceives the worlds, it is essential to be considered when dealing with blackness and how it was experienced by African diaspora descendants mainly those experiences linked with racism and racial discrimination. Mohanty, from a feminism standpoint, argues that some experiences will not lead individuals to a single and unique values or beliefs; however

experiences are the crucial indexes of our relationship with our world (including our relationship with ourselves), and to stress their cognitive nature is to argue that they can be susceptible to varying degrees of socially constructed truth or error and can serve as sources of objective knowledge or socially produced mystification (Mohanty, 2000, 38).

Castells (2004) also highlights the way identity construction is marked in power interrelationships. In his analysis of the network society, identity construction is capable of social transformation, as a reference of communal resistance which the idea is to use identity for resistance. His social theory of social transformation in the information era is related to the transformation of the communal resistance by the transformed subjects. The identity capable of producing these subjects is the “project identity” which is the construction of “a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing so, [social actors] seek the transformation of the overall social structure” (Castells, 2004, 8). Thus, his discussion debated the way NSM features, identity politics, and these topic’s insertion in social struggles by aggregating the possibility of transformation led by some identity based social movements.

Polleta & Jasper (2001) commented about movements’ successes on social struggles and the possibility of change; personal, cultural, and institutional changes. In general, changes in identity are the main objective of a movement, as along with the incentive to participate, because participation also shapes collective identity formation. It is remarkable that the social spaces black movements in Brazil have created to discuss black identity in order to call attention to the importance of self-identification and the non-denial and acceptance of black heritage, culture, phenotypic characteristics, and learn to affirm their racial identity. Therefore, in this context, it is possible to say identity politics is constructed through participatory practice, where networks of solidarity are fundamental to the process of collective identity constitution through the strengthening of

personal identity (Pizzorno, 1975). Identity as a key factor in collective action is evoked in speaking of the theories of recognition, in the sense that one observes that today's social movements do not have an essential class nature. Currently there is something else, or it is the primary motivation – recognition. Recognition of the self, of the other, and of transitory identities that characterizes the NSM analysis of collective identity formation, maintenance and affirmation is at the core of the discussion. The institutional result is the state recognition of social movements' demands in order to implement them in policy form. However, the discussion on this topic is not over, because data demonstrates⁵, we are in a post-industrial period in Western societies but many persons continued chained by inequality because of their subaltern position and poverty. The main problem is not wealth production, but its redistribution as income or goods. Additionally, inequality and poverty are also linked with race, not only in the United States and Brazil, but generally in Latin America.

RECOGNITION AND SOLIDARITY

Recognition comes from the value of “I”, individually and in relationship with others, in which one recognizes their existence as an autonomous being and also as a political subject of rights (Honneth, 2003). However, there is a recognition deficit (or

⁵ Many studies can be consulted at the World Bank website about poverty and levels of inequality, their conceptualization, measure methodologies, and comparisons among countries and continents. Available at <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/poverty>

lack) toward certain groups, specifically for this thesis, blacks. What would explain political participation is the search for substantial recognition (Fraser, 1999; Fraser and Honneth, 2003). Fraser (1999) places recognition as central for present day theories of social struggle. Nevertheless, she continues to work with the need for redistribution, which is still unsolved by modern capitalism. Fraser's thesis is that there should be an association between recognition and redistribution of income when dealing with social struggles as a question of justice, and thus an interaction between protecting a group identity, its cultural and material identities, is also linked with economic and political redistribution. Thus, what it is dealt with here is race justice, considering that in relation to blacks, the problem of recognition is linked with the problem of redistribution. Our society is placed in the post-socialist era, where struggles for redistribution are gradually being replaced by struggles for recognition, which does not mean that the redistributive process has been solved, since social inequalities are increasingly sharp (mainly in subaltern groups like blacks and indigenous people).

Fraser's analysis runs through gender and race, in order to propose possible social remedies capable of combating specific social injustices. The dilemma of deciding what aspect is more important, recognition or distribution, is treated as a question of justice considering that economic injustice creates different levels of inequalities that are rooted in political and economic structure of society. Cultural or symbolic injustice carries "social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication", which difference is associated with hostility to non-recognition of demands. The differences among

individuals and groups seem to be invisible to society and disrespect to these groups is possible due to being stigmatized or stereotyped in daily relations. Therefore, economic and cultural inequalities dialectically reinforce themselves, and result in a vicious cycle of cultural and economic subordinations, in which cultural injustices are encouraged, maintained and institutionalized by the government and the economy. The proposal, then, is to aggregate this aspect to the understanding of institutional racism regarding the non-recognition of blacks (in Brazilian context) as full subjects and citizens while also marked by those cultural and economic inequalities.

Fraser (1999) proposes social remedies for these injustices. For economic injustice, she proposes income redistribution. For cultural injustices, recognition, since it aims at symbolic change, it does not depend solely on government policy, but enters the field of social representations. However, these social remedies involve some conceptual problems, which can seem contradictory, since with redistribution, equality of rights is confirmed; and with recognition the difference of groups is confirmed; and we see this contradiction again when speaking of the intersection of gender and race. As an alternative, Fraser proposes two strategies: adopting both transformative and affirmative measures. These measures should have a joint action, since affirmative measures have only an immediate effect, but do not affect the structures of domination. Transformative measures are responsible for restructuring and correcting undesirable results and/or failures from earlier measures. Recognition, for her, is not then linked to individual satisfaction, but rather is fundamentally an issue of justice, which can lead to recognition

being analyzed as institutionalized discriminatory practices. Associating the construction of recognition with an issue of justice makes it easier to combine struggles for recognition and for redistribution of wealth. The author, then, makes use of two concepts to explain the relationship between non-recognition and unfair distribution of wealth: social status and class. For her, societies that create hierarchical structures of status institutionalize cultural patterns that deny participation in social life to some segments of the population. Now, when this same society creates patterns of class, it institutionalizes economic measures of exclusion that deny citizens the economic benefits of development

BRAZILIAN CONTEXT OF RACIAL RELATIONS

The first African slaves were brought to Brazil in 1530 in order to work in the sugar plantation on the northeast. About 4 million Africans were enslaved between 1530 and 1850, when the slave traffic was abolished (Andrews, 1997, 2). Then, we consider the most essential element for studying race relations in Brazil: two groups; whites (Europeans) and Blacks (African). Race relation studies will observe how these groups interact and relate to each other as well as the positions these groups occupy in society, politics and the economy – the structural aspects.

Slavery was used in other positions beyond the plantation fields. Slaves worked with all kinds of manual labor in the colony, such as sailors and muleteers. Indeed, another characteristic is the way different regions treated the institution. For example in

the regions of Minas, slaves had more chances to work, save some money and, buy their freedom. In many cities, slaves worked in place of their owners and they divided the earnings. These different forms of intimacy created multiple processes of bargain and negotiation beyond violent resistance. The number of freed slaves was rising. They represented about 30% of the total population of the country when slavery was officially banished.

Legislation ruled society by dividing privileges and social positions by race, or color degrees. Race, particularly blackness, was intrinsically linked with slavery. If the person were free, privileges were maintained only for the white population, like public position in the State administration. However, the white population did not fill all positions or professions. So, the non-white folks, blacks, browns or lighter colors, spread into many types of professions and spaces. These movements caused foreigners to say that the racial barrier in Brazil was not as tidy as other countries. However, in the question of treatment and income, the blacks and browns were not better than in any other slavery system in the Americas: “Imperial Legislation, reinforced by local ordinances, divided society into racial hierarchy in which the full rights of freedom and citizenship were reserved for whites” (Andrews, 1997, 8) in the post-slavery period.

What is important here is the construction of stereotypes of whiteness and blackness. All negative images were associated with blackness. They were uncivilized, barbarous and tended to commit crimes, for instance. Those with brown skin, or mulattoes, were viewed as more intelligent, but they were also devious. Therefore, free

blacks (blacks and browns), did not have any chance to move upward because they worked in the same professions as slaves, skilled or not, and were victims of the same prejudice and discrimination as slaves.

While in all the Americas slavery was abolished, in Brazil it increased. The survival of the institution of slavery is a result of its capacity for spreading throughout the economy (Winant, 2001). In Brazil, the new plantations of coffee increased the necessity for slaves. Another factor was the relative peaceful character of Brazilian independence (1822) but the number of conflicts and rebellions also increased. These behavior provoked fear in the general population which wanted to avoid an “Africanization” of the country. However, the end of slavery occurred in 1888, after more than three hundred years of its existence. During this period, the slave population decreased because of high levels of mortality in the plantations and mines; the impossibility of replacement, and manumission. These dynamics opened the fieldwork to freedmen and decreased the competition for job positions between enslaved people.

The cities became centers for the antislavery struggle with the rising of freedmen in exodus to urban areas. Movements to abolish slavery started to grow and to aggregate blacks, mulattoes and white folks. Indeed, after independence liberal rhetoric made changes in the colonial laws possible. These laws were replaced and created a somewhat restricted possibility of upward mobility to free blacks and mulattoes. As Nascimento discusses, “Freedom meant abandonment to a slow death in the street. Abolition was simply a massive extension of this treatment: slaves were cast into a freedom without

employment, no shelter, no means of subsistence or support” (Nascimento, 1989, 43). However, even without those laws, the former enslaved and “colored” population would lose more chances because of the stereotype of inferiority. To overcome these situations two strategies were used in order to do better economically. They denied their black ancestry, associated with slavery and inferiority; and cultivated the influence of their patrons, who also possessed slaves but gave them some kind of security. Unfortunately, those who chose these options blamed the abolitionist movements for the lack of work opportunities and the non-existence of options for survival out of farms. Andrews (1997) states that because of these same motives, one century later black movements had difficulty in gathering constituency among Afro-Brazilians considering mainly the denial of racial identity. But movements against slavery continued to work until slavery was abolished in 1888. And after that, these movements could not construct a new political aim quickly. The Brazilian state in the first republican period was able to experiment with the “whitening” process on the population. By 1890, the first Europeans immigrants arrived for this purpose.

Dominated by the rising of scientific racism, the Brazilian State started implementing immigration policies. Unlike other countries with black populations, Brazil did not use segregation policies. It used white immigration in order to “whiten” the predominant black and mulatto population. The government banned immigration from Asia and Africa, allowing only Europeans to come. This policy was a priority to the state. In forty years the total number of European immigrants was almost the same as that of

enslaved Africans in three hundred years. However, in the 1930's the affair with immigration was over as a result of the "Integralism" movement which had a xenophobe bias and support of the government.

The task of the 1930's, was to review Brazilian racial and national identity, the government totally supported and defended a nationalist position. Academic professionals were the main group responsible for the redefinition that was coming. Gilberto Freyre became the mentor of this effort. By redefining the meaning of slavery process and by advocating a multiracial present, the idea of racial democracy was born. The creational tale of Brazilian identity was created. This identity was formed by the miscegenation of Indigenous, European and African people as well as the brutality that slavery brought that was euphemized. Brazilian society after independence, with the end of racial laws and the end of slavery, the perfect moment had arrived for promoting the egalitarian independency ideal in order to show that prejudice did not exist anymore. Brazil because of the ideology of miscegenation and racial democracy had a new concept of civilization. The thought that all races lived together under the concepts of equality and harmony among the entire population and crossing racial and color lines became prevalent until 1970's and 1980's.

As a critic, Hasenbalg (1979) did a study that elucidated the relationship between race and politics in Brazil with respect to the issue of the black participation. Right after the abolition of slavery, the channels of social ascension were blocked for the black population in order to maintain inequality, placing blacks at the bottom of the social

hierarchy. He also questions how retractions on social mobility can set off the ideology of racial democracy. In addition, no collective ties were created to legitimize black demands for this mobility. Moreover, social conflicts were covered up, since all black actions was prohibited. The author's addressed the social mechanisms used to maintain people of color subordinate to a social order which is antagonistic and repressive to collective action and the very notion of groups and group formation. What stands out, then, in this work is identity and ideological domination supported by the general acceptance of the supposed racial democracy. Forms of interaction while thinking of collective action and subject recognition for demanding inclusive public policies are inserted in this scenario of denial and under-estimation of the problem regarding racial equality.

Hasenbalg also postulates that the same reasons that impeded black social mobility in the labor market form the basis for a system of multiracial categorization and fragmentation of racial identity which is measured by grades of color. Browns and mestizos have been co-opted into performing tasks that are intermediate on the scale of economic production and military categories. From this scale, a continuum of color for the Brazilian population is observed considering that whites and the idea of whiteness provide better opportunities for social ascension, and thus, skin color becomes significant social information. This color stratification has had negative consequences among blacks on the difference of opportunities and on the fragmentation of their racial identities. The central assumption is that the lighter and more ambitious people were, they could be

accepted at the upper levels without affecting the dominant white group's monopoly on property, power, and prestige. The same structure was maintained after abolition. Therefore as a consequence of fragmented racial identity and cooptation, social protest movements ended up being weakened due to the lack of a group identity. Thus two problems held back the development of black social movements: leadership drained due to the color continuum and the distance that this provoked between the color elite and the rest of blacks which made "it hard for potential leadership to find a public for organized social protest movements" (Hasenbalg, 1970, 237).

Nascimento (1989) argues that racial democracy is a legitimated ideology of black disappearance by the process of whitening (miscegenation and assimilation) or by elimination. This pattern continues to be observed by the data related to violence in many cities. The majority of people who die from violence are black, male, and poor. The numbers are constantly increasing among this population and decreasing among whites. In this sense, public security policy is suffering a regress instead of amelioration. Institutional racism is pointed as reason of no government action because in public security policy implementation and the role of racism itself on violence are not fully considered (Inesc, 2012, 29). This myth engendered what this author called the genocide of blacks in Brazil. Additionally, the role of the denial of discrimination that naturalizes and does not question the situation of inequality in this country, which is mainly based on racial lines, is suppressed by those responsible for policy implementation. But more

important to the discussion here, is how this ideological dynamic undermined the formation of racial solidarity among those of African descent.

This discrimination uses the different tonalities of epidermic color of the Black people as a mechanism to see that the Black man disappears through the ideology of whitening as the search for the ideal man, in order to obtain better conditions of life, and with this same mechanism is destroyed the political, economic, religious and family solidarity of Black Groups (Nascimento, 1989, 18).

Therefore, racial democracy claims that within the concept of citizenship there is an absence of prejudice and discriminatory practices with a racial focus and equal economic and social opportunities for whites and blacks as a result of political pluralism and democracy itself. Thus, the opinion of the dominant elite and Brazilian society in general, is that responsibility for the low social position of blacks is the product of a lack of individual ability. The responsibility of the black subordinated positioning into society is transferred to the social group and deny the role of social structures that has guaranteed no change over time and the dismantling of inter group relations. Therefore the image of Brazilian racial and ethnic harmony is associated with tools for demobilization, the dissolution of tensions and control of areas of conflict. Thus, the critics of social inequality of blacks were answered as a social problem inside poverty, they were not poor because they neither were/are black nor because they were/are discriminated by their race. Rather, this situation is a class issue and inequalities are the continued legacy of slavery.

The race categorization in Census is re-incorporated only in the 1980's. However, questioning currents of racial democracy framework for understanding Brazilian racial relation were supported by the quantitative research done in the 1970's, 1980's, 1990's and 2000's, which indicated the presence of a high level of racial inequalities, no matter what issue is analyzed. The predicted social indicator of a racial democracy is the "supposed" higher degree of upward mobility of nonwhites in general, but when mulattoes (browns), considering income and other related data, are higher than blacks, the difference is statistically insignificant (Rocha, 2006; Santos, 2007). Because of this, black and brown populations in the census color classification are aggregated in the term "negro" (black), as racial category by government institutions. This is the racial term presently used in Brazilian racial relations studies. This kind of statement and governmental recognition of a racial category instead of color was demanded by black movements since the beginning of the century, as well as the allegation of racism and discrimination that diminish their chances of ascension and upward mobility on social-economic strata, even if you are brown or lighter as for a long time considered a social or racial advantage. All this separation of categories and the belief that is better to have lighter skin or some white feature for social acceptance and mobility can be considered a factor that blocked mobilizations for black civil rights in Brazil. Mobilizers have always called for unification under the racial indemnification as blacks and by this denomination; they could join in the social arena in order to demand racial equality and justice. Therefore, in the late 1980's, racial democracy became a real myth among many blacks.

Bailey (2009) showed through survey research that the majority of Brazilians in the late 1990's and 2000's do not believe in racial democracy as the present reality anymore, but rather as an objective for the future. Presently, this author states that

There is a societal consensus that much of the nation's inequality is to be blamed on racial discrimination. Brazilians, then, may be in a unique position that could motivate public debate on the issue of racialized inequality and lead to challenges to the racial status quo (Bailey, 2009, 116).

Baily summarized the Brazilian discussion about the topic in moments of anti-racialism and racialist positions of interpreting the Brazilian racial reality. Racialism is the belief that the human species can be divided into races, and that the members of each race share characteristics and tendencies that can constitute an essence of race belonging. However, this concept is not always considered a group hierarchy, as the belief that blacks are inherently inferior. In the positive sense, qualities are distributed among races, and each one must be respected equally. Anti-racialism denies this perspective because it refers to multiracial dynamics where racial groups are not positioned by what they think in terms of race, but rather in terms of class. And because of the difficulty of identification the classification is not by race, essentially said, but by color. Then we have four phases of racial relations' interpretations in Brazil. The first phase is the period after Freyre, which is characterized as anti-racialist while celebration of miscegenation is emphasized. The second phase is the racial democracy critique characterized by the focus on racial inequalities that challenge an anti-racialist framework. In the third phase, the

racial democracy became recognized as myth and the necessity of focusing on race relation as a paradigm to understanding Brazilian context of inequalities as well as combatting them were required. This position can be considered a racialist perspective for focusing on the role of race. Finally, there has been a growing movement to criticize this last racialist interpretation. This is a critique that challenges the previous racialist perspective that resulted in the ascension of affirmative action. Therefore, the present is a moment of change and struggles to dominate academic and social debates about race relations in Brazil. This anti-racialist movement has been obscured the present government's support for affirmative action implementation and it has continually argued for the focus on class instead on race without addressing the problem of racism and racial discrimination that continue to be a part of Brazilian social relations in everyday life.

It is interesting to note that the classification of populations used by IBGE is based not on terms of race, but by colors. The only term that is based on race is "indigenous"; otherwise they would be classified as browns. The classification system is divided in five categories: White, Brown, Black, Yellow and Indigenous. As said before, by the small marginal difference in data, Blacks and Browns are put together in the racial category of "negros" (blacks). However, as Bailey (2009) demonstrated by the study of racial boundaries, most do not prefer the term black and when they are pressured to assume their black identity, some ended declaring themselves as whites. Those who more frequently declare to be black are those with "real" black color. But if the categories were

broadly, the majority would choose terms of lighter color than what they have chosen before (among different tonalities regarding blackness). The author discusses how people notice themselves and how their view differs from the group theories that study race in the United States. Another interesting result of his research is the self-classification of the interviewed regarding its racial perspective while comparing with the interviewer's racial perspective of the interviewee. This comparison suggests that there is a direct and spread compatibility with internal and external identification besides the allegation that it is difficult to identify who is considered black or not in Brazil as miscegenation perspectives have suggested. This demonstrates that phenotypical identification does not present considerable divergence. Thus, the population broadly recognizes and classifies people based on color and race while denying their significance and maintaining white supremacy in Brazil (Vargas, 2004).

Besides the alleged difficulties in sorting groups by race, affirmative action has been implemented to blacks in different institutions, mainly public universities. It is useful to highlight that public universities in Brazil are totally free. The majority of the students and faculty members are mostly from middle and upper class and are usually whites. Regarding the debate that has dominated the media, mainly against these policies, Bayle's research (2009) is quite interesting. Brazilians do not deny discrimination, and this opinion is from whites and nonwhites populations. There is a sense of support to affirmative policies, mainly in lower classes, where the black population is highly represented. However, when the class status began to move to higher positions and

become more educated, and subjects' positions tend to be against this kind of policy. Public universities are where the command positions in state bureaucracy is formed and educated as well as political leaders and high-income professions. These spaces on the state and high profit professions were always considered an elite locus. Well, the interest in defense of status quo appeared more clearly when the place is questioned by other groups, such as poor's and blacks (Santos, 2007). The author identifies this behavior pro-quota as "sympathetic identification" based on racial ambiguity and class-based identification. He also demonstrates that the population prioritized as beneficiary of the policy more blacks than browns, with the belief the latter have more chances of mobility. However, Bayle concludes with a warning that the Brazilian's perspective of race and race relation is becoming more like the American way of perceiving race in the years of segregation, because the state is forming or tending to form identities by the official classification and with the affirmative policies, or at least it is and incentive to them to flourish. Although there is debate about the comparison with the American case, it is also clear that besides differences among Brazil and the U.S., both tend to present the same result: the legal, social and political subjugation of blacks or non-whites, being straighter forward. The diaspora experience of African descent people, who even separated in diverse realities, continues to show shared subjugation and subordination under white supremacist orders.

(BLACK) (QUEER) FEMINIST THEORY

At the end of the 1980s, feminism turned to post-structuralism and post-modernism initiated in literary and cultural criticism (Vincent, 2010). Their main questioning is whether language reflects and/or personifies reality. As discourse is confirmed through sets of signs, language is understood as a formal system of conventions. Derrida stated that words and the process of naming works by exclusion and that “not even a word that is neutral” (Wilchins, 2004). The laws that rule language form the structure of discourse, and are subject to analysis. We can see that the signs do not have meaning in themselves, but in a context of oppositions and differences, which is what constitutes language. Foucault (1990), through the review of the history of sexuality (and its science) has deconstructed what we know as “self”; the notion we have of ourselves to show the power of knowledge and language in which all the intellectual suppositions of the Western civilization were divested of their epistemological privileges, such as the notion of rationality and language.

The universal social subject as object of study has always existed in the social science, yet this subject has always been masculine and carried many other meaning with him. Simone de Beauvoir (2011) criticizes the presumed universality, neutrality and unity, arguing that there are those whose social position is defined without markers and those who are defined by their differences. Denouncing the predominance of the masculine reference point to refer to all subjects leads us back to the need for a deconstruction and decentering. Even including women, the problem of universalism, of

essentialism, and of dualism, where the hierarchies and subordinations that have been constructed continue to be reinforced. It was necessary to delineate other categories in which men and women are both included such as work, class, race, and citizenship. Davis (1983) discusses the crossing identities by addressing the different social roles, positions, and status black women occupied in the American society since anti-slavery movements through the civil rights movements; and how the identity politics of black women are more diverse than the traditional subject. In the postmodern perspective, black women are the derivative subjects according to Derrida (Wilchins, 2004), because they were thought and, eventually, included by the traditional feminist movements in a first moment, which most constituencies were white middle-upper class women; the same dynamics is observable in the black movements, which presupposes race is above womanhood.

Gender theories arise as a response to the analysis of these categories. These perspectives add to feminism a literature of women on women, it becomes an analysis of the social and cultural construction of the feminine and masculine, investigating the social construction of subjects and observing the relations of power, domination and subordination. These theories show that the specific was taken as essential in order to designate the universal: the masculine subject, man, heterosexual, white and holder of properties. All this includes the subject in a normative oppressor category, as Butler (2003) postulates, and makes women and the oppressed absent or invisible in this universality, as Joan Scott also discussed (2005). For Scott, the concept of gender needs a critical theory to support it, such as post-structuralism, since she questioned the single,

universal categories, which make historical concepts they naturalize, such as men and women. Post-structuralist feminism includes the comprehension of how subjects are constituted, within the cultural meanings and representations that are permeated with power relations. This critical theory also dialogues with the equality/difference dualism, which is essential to understanding race relations and the demands of specific public policy by racial groups, core of the thesis discussion.

This binary opposition constructs a certain area of equality along each side of the equation and demolishes the differentiations and multiplicity of identities along the continuum. The non-differentiations end up confirming the discourse on gender and on identity by nourishing relationships of power and social hierarchies. Standardization of identity, together with the oppression that it implies, stipulates behaviors and conducts, denying differences among subjects. The desire of feminists to construct a universal feminist subject by trying to find a common basis for the “women” category, has been criticized by black and Latino feminists as well as lesbian and transsexual feminists, questioning what it means to be a woman, since attempting to forge this unity ends up in the same epistemological problem as when men were considered the sole universal subject. Thus, this unity, from a post-structuralist perspective also excludes, oppresses and dominates (Butler, 2003). Discussions of identities (and how they are constructed) become an essential and not just as a theoretical problem, and therefore a problem of political action as well.

The discussion takes place with respect of differentiation between sex and gender in the sense of counterpoising biological determinism, the same determinism given to the understanding of race when it arose as a scientific concept. Linda Nicholson (cited by Mariano, 2005) argues that feminists should abandon understanding determinism as biological foundation, which is not to say that the notion of body should be discredited. Butler (2003), in criticizing the notion of the body as biological, considers it as pre-discursive, which leads the author to a criticism of gender itself. The feminist task is, then, to subvert identities and destabilize the dominant power. In denying the biological constitution of identity, what will be the references that identified subjects consist of? For Butler, the subject is constituted discursively, is contingent, is political, and this constitution takes place through exclusion (cited by Mariano, 2005). That is, through the differentiations, subjects come from outside. However, deconstructing the subject does not mean eliminating it. For Butler, it has to do with a re-signifying of these linguistic signs. It rejects identity (the idea of its completeness and singleness) as a prerequisite for collective feminist action, since deconstructing the feminist subject would be to free it from standardization and fixation.

Could the deconstruction of the subject of feminism then mean a fragmentation of the political struggle? Butler answers that no. The criticism of essentialism and the defense of differentiation could reinvigorate the movements. For her, there is an interesting differentiation with respect to its prerogative between identity politics, identity affirmation, the politics of coalition building, and the building of contingent alliances. In

analyzing the black movements from the standpoint of destabilization, the following question arises, “who is black (in Brazil)? Is a unified black identity necessary for collective action? Or is a single black identity legitimated to demand public policy?

In this sense, moving to a more political debate, it is known that it is intrinsically linked with the idea of democracy, that political participation broadens access to rights regarding citizenship. The question about the motivations of participating continues contingent. Those who participate politically seek to influence the political process, the decision-making process and consequently, to change, to improve, and, to adapt the public policies which are of interest to a specific group, the structure of power and the system of values. As a group activity, participation requires some sort of solidarity. Contrary to the first social movements which were framed by class issues, the so called “new” social movements which arose in the post-socialist era complain not only about economic oppression, but also about symbolic ones. In this sense, the attention goes to (collective) identity as basis, or at least the main constrain, of collective action wherein the symbolic objectives can also be translated as recognition. However, there is the risk of doing identity politics by essentializing it. Queer theory denies identity as a pre-requisite to collective action, because it seeks to deconstruct the subject in order to free him/her of a fixed and standard position. In spite of this premise, the aim is not to destroy identity politics but to reinterpret and forge a new political configuration. Although queer theory came as an alternative view and interpretation of identity politics, it continues to be limited in its claim to be a theory with broad applications in addressing this issue.

What does black queer theory adds to queer theory in terms of how identity politics is reviewed, deconstructed and reconstructed? Can black queer theory reinvent queer theory?

As a challenge to the queer theory, Johnson (2005) discusses about the “quare” theory. He aims to include in the queer analyses blacks and their class experiences, which are omitted and silenced in the core of queer studies. The task to address these issues continues to be from those who are “different” and “specific” while the general academia continues silent in approaching other perspectives. As commenting Anzaldúa, queer cannot be seeing as a unifying identity because the result is to erase the differences among queers. “Quare” critique of the notion of a stable identity brings to the discussion of intersectionality, which shows the other intrinsic differences a subject can bring on constructing the self-identity(s); and interpretation that comes from black feminist theory that Crenshaw (1995) discusses by addressing the political intersectionality. It puts black women in the bottom of social movements, the feminist and the black, and their interests as well. She uses the example of the shared domestic violence in order to show how the dynamics of this political isolation works, even if black women are actively involved with both social movements. This reality is also expanded if we take in consideration the diaspora experience of black women. In this sense, indeed, Johnson pinpoints the “quare” theory as a theory for queers of color with the aim to propose the “theory in the flesh”. This is the main contribution, in my opinion, in how black queer studies contribute to the

understanding of the identity formation while addressing the idea of resistance as experience of the survival by highlighting the connection between theory and practice:

The theory that I advance is a “theory in the flesh”. Theories in the flesh emphasize the diversity within and among gays, bisexuals, lesbians, and transgendered people of color while simultaneously accounting for how racism and classism affect how we experience and theorize the world. Theories in the flesh also conjoin theory and practice through an embodied politic of resistance (Johnson and Henderson, 2005, 127).

Although the claim of this “theory in the flesh” is applied and discussed in the understanding and inclusion of people of color, in queer theory and practice, maybe it will be clarified by the author’s analysis; this theory can also be understood as people of color’s identity formation in general, while dealing with resistance and survival facing at the same time diverse systems of oppressions (sex, gender, sexuality, race, class, etc.). As queer theory offers an understanding of the instability in the identity formation where it is not bounded by a particular identity, it addresses the possibilities of generalization. However, there must also be different ways to be queer. With Butler’s discussion of gender identity formation it has brought awareness that any identification process can be followed by risks/tricks of the belief of being an outsider of the system, when in fact subjects can be reinforcing and reproducing the systems of domination. Identities are not discourse free or capable of existing outside social systems. In this sense, this author addresses the notion of performance in her understanding of theory of sexuality. This idea is brought to frame race and address aspects, which are forgotten by queer theory as a

whole, mainly the question of materiality and how a racist and unequal society affects blacks. Queer theory also fails in addressing non-whites contributions to the theoretical discussion and does not criticize its own white and middle/upper-class constituency, public voice, and privileges. What black queer studies bring to the discussion is to (de)construct identity politics and also to bring new ways to frame it, aggregating other categories, which made self-identity plausible and under constant dialogue, to change dynamics.

Identity politics also brings the risk of essentialization or at least, the prevalence of one individual's identity over other ones. Although queer theory proposes the destabilization of identity, at the same time, it called to the affirmation of gender identity that omits the racial and class parts, as already discussed. However, when we bring to the main discussion the strategies of survival through resistance, we improve the sense of identity constitution by addressing the way communities (understanding community generally as any group of people who share some characteristic in some social identification by the self and by the others) influences the identity formation. Talking about collective action is also to address collective identity where community has a central role. As we are discussing the way black queer theory adds and contributes to queer theory, it also adds the notion of community built upon the theory, which uses the elimination of fixed categories as a “de” and/or “re” identity construction. Identity politics cannot be thought only in individual terms, but rather in dialogue with pre-established communities like family, church, and people of same color, same gender, and

same profession. In dealing with dominated groups (blacks and homosexuals among), the notion of community was essential to survival, and cross single identities boundaries, as discussed by Cohen, where for example the boundary or race is broader than the sexuality and gender ones, the specific case of queer theory (Johnson and Henderson, 2005). “Quare” theory discusses the pluralist identity within and between groups and in doing so, regards the relation between theory and practice, performance and performativity. The theory in the flesh, then, addresses the “politics of resistance” with the aim is to build spaces of subjectivity - agency –and changes toward oppression.

Considering the construction of the concepts of performativity and performance, the subject can reinstate subjectivity and agency as a self-reflective process. By performance, systems of oppression can be reemphasized, but also by a (re) signification of the political role of performativity in order to “contest and subvert dominant meaning system” (Johnson and Henderson, 2005, 138). Not all persons who struggle for identity has the critique of the essential role they can also play, like the discussion about “true” blackness demonstrates. In this sense, regarding the post-structural roots of queer and black queer studies, the discourse of strategies of survival of those who have been subjugated can be fit in the same terms as the Foucault’s quote that the text emphasizes:

Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more then silences are. We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both and instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also

undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it (Johnson and Henderson, 2005, 139).

In this sense, collective identity is not monolithic and in a moment of difficult or erasure of sexual identity, for instance, people will group around race identity as agency players, who act or perform the consciousness of its role. Performance is a “site of agency”: it is possible to reinvent itself, to resist, and to transform the material conditions. It is the discourse under the service of resistance. Then, performance as a “site of agency” brings the idea of “disidentification”: “(...) a mode of dealing with dominant ideology that neither opts to assimilate within such a structure nor strictly opposes it; rather, disidentification is a strategy that works on and against ideology” (ibid. 139). We can say through the practice of disidentification that resistance was/is possible in the quotidian individual and collective experiences through embodiment of diversity of experiences; here the black body experience among others constrains the effect of color in subjugation but also in subjectivity and agency.

It is by the combination of factors discussed here (flesh, resistance, performance, subjectivity, agency, experience, survival) that we can address and understand how identity politics’ dynamics through a process of review deconstruct and reconstruct itself. Although Johnson is discussing these issues regarding “quare” studies, it has clearly a possible broader application and theorization about the formation of identity politics, individually and collectively. The point here is also the linkage always highlighted between the theory and practice. At the end, I am sure “Quare” theory cannot only

reinvent but also revitalize queer studies in order to make it a truly broad theory, which can also address identity formation outside sex, gender and sexuality, and the changes through political practice and coalition. Maybe this combination can be seen as a new broad theory of identity politics formation, survival and (re)production. Therefore, this section has aimed to discuss the way black queer theory (quare) discusses and addresses the process of identity politics formation and self-reinvention and redefinitions.

Quare studies grants space for marginalizes individuals to enact “radical black subjectivity”, by adopting the both/and posture of “disidentification”. Quare studies propose a theory grounded in a critique of essentialism and an enactment of political praxis. Thus, such theorizing may strategically embrace identity politics while also acknowledging the contingency of identity... (Johnson and Henderson, 2005, 141).

I wish to finish these reflections by recalling for a “radical black subjectivity”, arguing that blackness is also multiple and not confined as an essentializing identity, the major contribution of the reflections that the author made regarding the “quare” contributions.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY CONTRIBUTION

The discussion in “Scenes of subjection” (Hartman, 1997) is essential to Critical Race Theory when it is possible to observe the position of the State and its officials when thinking that by changing the law they could change the reality, specifically slavery.

“The law recognition of purportedly natural categories like race, blood, and affinity denied the constitutive role of the law in the production of these categories. In fact, it was the declared neutrality of race as a legal category that effectively perpetuated this violence for another century. The racial taxonomies inhabiting the law, whether in the guise of property, criminality, or contagion, maintained white dominance and thus belied declarations of formal equality” (Hartman, 1997, 191).

The state racism continues strong and it is working to maintain black misery and subordination even after the civil rights movements’ gains in the 1960’s in the United States. It seems, to some extent, a proto colorblind approach in legal interpretation that came from the American abolition of slavery; as well as the belief and supremacy of the law in guiding the path that the nation should/must follow. As the discussion of the black codes underlined, the racial relationships and prejudices are not a public subject, but rather dealt with in private relationships. As the argument in the nineteenth century, the racial relation is based on natural affinities, and the state cannot interfere. The same interpretation is used in answering the state’s responsibility in institutional racism’s practices, in which the individual is responsible for having a racist behavior, not the institution. Thus, whiteness as property and its privileges continue to be supported by the state when it assumes the posture of not addressing it in a policy perspective. Some policy problems that directly affect blacks are not considered a racial issue such as those linked with inequality, poverty, social risk and violent deaths. This posture fiercely defend that race does not matter in a society that exalts individualism and merit, in which all persons have the same opportunities to achieve professional and personal objectives. It seems that discussions and practices can change to adapt to the new social, political and,

economic realities, but the ideal and ideology behind all this questions continues with the same compromise to maintain racial and economic domination.

Bonilla-Silva (2002), while discussing the new racial classification of the American society, argues that this new process is part of strategies to maintain the U.S. racial structure, even if we consider “whitening the population through immigration or by classifying many newcomers as White” (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 5), due to the new demography that aggregates racial minorities more than it used to do. He states that American society has been being remodeled in order to guarantee White comfort, privilege and, in extension, supremacy by creating an intermediate group in the racial classification/strata as a way to suppress racial struggles; by permitting some members to be recognized as Whites; and by considering the majority of new immigrants and their descendants in the “collective Black”. In this sense, he also recognizes the uprising of a new type of racism, more like Latin American racism, where institutions reproduce white privilege by not considering race as a variable, at least not clearly stated by law. It is denied the role of race as a legitimate factor that perpetuates inequalities, as well as its proclaimed national identity as more important than racial or ethnic ones. In Latin America this was evident during the process of nation building in the majority of the countries, mainly in order to absorb the mestizo population and to avoid, or to stimulate the denial of, their racial or ethnic identities and to prioritize the national one. Therefore, racism became color-blinded, or veiled, as Brazilians used to characterize it.

Goldberg's (2009) characterizes Latin America racial relations as is the predominance of white supremacy through the historical process of miscegenation and resistance to blackness, which is consolidated in spite of struggles for equality and denounces of the genocide of black people led by black social movements' actions and some leftist tendencies of governments that addressed the possibilities of affirmative action adoption in Brazil specifically (Vargas, 2004, 119). In Goldberg's opinion, this configuration is the result of the reproduction of the structures of whiteness by mestizaje processes, and this process has created a new form of racism by not acknowledging race discrimination by law since the movements for independence as well as by aggregating the contemporary new-liberal ideology and its individualization. Mestizaje was Latin America's organic answer to the dilemma of modernity and modernization which aimed to produce a "harmonious and dynamic body politics" (Goldberg, 2009, 200) with the social integration and biological fusion of Blacks, Indigenous and Whites. He acknowledged that the process is much more dense and complex because the notion of whiteness and whitening in the mestizaje ideal/myth is imbricated in the modernization, republican, nation building and military processes, wherein indigenous and blacks were symbolically linked with the animalization; so, they must be hidden or avoided. The fragility of the conception of whiteness is exemplified by the necessity of self-proclamation and promotion of privileges that are aggregated to it. The result from these "hardly consistent and systematic" (Goldberg, 2009, 210) processes is that race and class

in Latin America are strictly and structurally imbricated, so poverty and any sort of inequality have colors and consequently, races.

Indeed, Goldberg argues that the mimesis of European tradition in L.A. is a result of the influence of imperialism in which it is reproduced in their legal and political structures. These structures are intrinsically linked with whiteness, and they put it as the main or true idea of progress that infiltrates the social imaginary and influences the way people think, behave and make their partners choices based on their own colors and races. Thus, to achieve progress and to gain social mobility, there is the necessity of lighten up, by acquiring the values of whiteness and by denying everything that is not related to it such as the rural origins, for instance. This dynamic constructed a new form of racism from a biologically inscribed to a “culturally inscribed historicism” (Goldberg, 2009, 216), which has opened opportunities for “cultural experimentation and invention”. In this scenario it is possible to observe the process of European immigration and concretization of the mestizaje as symbol of national identities and nation building in L.A. In this sense, I would state Goldberg is also affirming that the characterization of race relations as White supremacist, because the “euro-mimesis also meant, even as it cemented into place, that both what could be imagined as the national community and the interest of the state could represent were configured in terms of and around the structures of whiteness” (Goldberg, 2009, 217). “Thus, mestizaje/mesticagem was married with blanquiamiento/branqueamento [...]” and the pairing “stabilized whiteness at the sufferance of any potential competitors. The conjugation of mixture and euro-mimesis

extends the political power of whiteness as the prevailing structural condition of racial latinoamericanization” (Goldberg, 2009, 233).

Therefore, in Goldberg’s arguments, it is possible to say that mestizaje, considering the way it was imagined, experimented and assumed as an “organic” Latin American characterization, is intrinsic linked with the notion of whiteness, which is reproduced through institutions. Even though it was an answer to the “Northern” racial segregation and had an “anti-racist character”, as the author acknowledges, it ended by configuring a new type of racism, that it is not said but continues to be reproduced, guaranteed and maintained white supremacy just as Bonilla-Silva described that this is the path American society is following. Indeed, the anti-blackness, or darkness in the indigenous’ case, notion of this project discussed by Goldberg, which blackness is supposed to disappear and or diminish its presence, socially and biologically, brought problems with racial identification, racial solidarity, and the illusion “that things are getting better” which blocks many venues for social movements based on race, mines the responsibility of institutions, and takes off the structural character of racism, that has been becoming individual and diffused, is the same pattern observed by Bonilla-Silva regarding the U.S.. He concludes discussing that racial dynamics in the U.S. will change dramatically because these new honorary whites will dampen racial conflicts. Thus, the tendency is to deepen the color-blind approach as the statistics about race are emphatically threatened to be annulled. This author also states that black identity will not dissipate even with the entrance of new groups, but the racial awareness will become

more diffuse. Finally, the ultimate appointed result is the possibility of a reorganization of racial identification which will maintain and reproduce white supremacy.

By considering the racial formation of the U.S. and Brazil, or Latin America, it is evident that race policy, classification, and social dynamic are essentially different. However, it is important to consider their similarities and how the results in maintaining the state of domination over certain racialized groups is successful over time. This dominance is mostly accepted by those who are subordinated regarding Gramsci analysis of hegemony (1971). First, it is important to say that the color-blind approach is like the “raceless” racism, as Goldberg characterized it, in which informality take place as well as avoidance of racial belonging demonstrated by the many terms used to describe blackness and indigenusness heritage/phenotype/ancestry. However, at the same time, such as suggested by Vargas (2004), by denying racial belonging, the individual attests his hyperconsciousness and awareness of its social implications. Secondly, mestizaje processes also resulted in difficulties in demographic counts by race or color, which makes it difficult to pinpoint problems related to race. Following the same logic, the color-blind approach has eliminated references of race in laws and institutions. Indeed, this move is already in place as demonstrated by the possibility of multiple choices of racial background, which derail the racial belonging. However, what this data classification hide is the direct relationship that race has with class, that are dynamic and cyclical, naturalizing and maintaining racial inequalities with the excuse the problem to be solved is about poverty and related only to class. This aspect is very symptomatic in

both L.A. and in the U.S., like the authors also commented. Even with the expansion of affirmative action policies in Brazil, the variable of socio-economic “class” became more important than race in quota systems in federal universities, for example. The new federal quotas law corroborated the predominance of this position. Consequently, negative effects on struggles for racial justice start to appear, because the notion of mixing or racial denial pushes the “attention away from the materialities of racial justice” (Goldberg, 2009, 240), of racial belonging, and of forms of solidarity, that became shorter. The results are the increasing denial or refusal of race policies; affirmative action is threaten to be abolished in L.A. as it was in the U.S. The existence of social movements organized around race are challenged in the first place for being recognized as race based because the concept of race is questioned as valid regarding miscegenation and the impossibility of identification. The implications is that racial inequality will be naturalized, “or even increased”, in the “big bag” of general inequalities (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 6).

The most interesting fact of these dynamics of race and class (and also gender) is that some governments, such as the American and the Brazilian, , even though general policies (universal) has been being implemented, when crossed with race, the pattern of racial differences remains. It seems there is not political willingness to assume and confront the problem, because the dominant classes, which are also white, dominate political power. However, in Brazil this year of 2012 had created a conjecture that made possible the expansion of these policies by the government. Thus, at this point the most

dangerous characteristic of these processes is the individualization of racism and discriminatory behavior. The institutional and state responsibility is reduced, and the individual is responsible for its own backwardness, poverty, and lack of interest in achieving education, social status, and better jobs, for instance. Once more, inequality would be legitimated by leaving racial implications out of the discussion, naturalizing, thus, race-class relations. As Hooker (2005) discusses the role of the lack of addressing the history of racism and discrimination practices against subordinated populations is keeping Afro-Latinos in a more difficult position to claim rights based on multicultural politics that took place in Latin America in recent years. Bonilla-Silva (2002), Goldberg (2009), Winant (2001), and Vargas (2004) are observing these patterns and the way they are related to each other. I totally agree with them with the way White supremacy is not doomed to fail, but rather it will prevail in both realities (Latin American and American) with legitimacy and social acceptance regarding the (new) configurations of race relations. The challenge is on the social struggle for recognition and racial awareness, which is valid and important, as well as on demands for racial equality. Racial identity social movements seem to me central on this scenario, as the authors also highlighted, on the non-acceptance of racial inequality and white supremacy. Therefore, the challenge to understand the new racial configuration of U.S. is on table as we compare with L.A race configurations. Therefore, it is possible to assume by observation that they are different from the origin and racial relations' dynamic, but they are also quite similar in the consequences for Black, indigenous, and any other "dark" populations.

Case Study: Racial quota system of the University of Brasilia

The United Nations “Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance” in Durban, South Africa 2001, is considered a historical moment in Brazil regarding the expansion of demanding race policies, mainly those called affirmative action. It is an external political factor that incentive the organization of preparatory conferences in universities and among the civil society. A favorable environment for debating a variety of opinions about the significance maintenance of the racism as a social indicator of inequalities appeared. During the 1980’s and 1990’s, the expansion of social and statistical studies with more precise tools have shown concretely how race influences downward the trajectory of blacks and browns in Brazil, blacks, in spite of the argument that correlates inequalities with class. Before 2001, in the end of 1990’s, former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso was the first Brazilian president to affirm publically that Brazil was a racist country and to highlight the importance of addressing the consequences of racism and racial discrimination after he had received the letter of demands from the blacks movements after the “Marcha Zumbi dos Palmares contra o Racismo, pela cidadania e a vida” (March Zumbi from Palmares against Racism, for citizenship and life) in Brasilia, 1995. This act opened institutional venues for initiating discussion inside the government and universities. The University of Brasilia (UnB) was pioneer in leading the agenda of conferences about the topic, mainly by the organization of the international seminar

“Multiculturalismo e Racismo: o papel da ação afirmativa dos Estados democráticos contemporâneos” (Multiculturalism and Racism: the role of Affirmative Action in the contemporary democratic States) in 1996. Some years later, specifically 2003, UnB entered in Brazilian history as the first federal university to approve a quota system for blacks, browns, and indigenous people. Due to this pioneer role, UnB was chosen to be the race policy case study in order to investigate the extension of institutional racism while implementing affirmative action.

UnB approved its affirmative action policy by the university highest council called CEPE (Conselho de Ensino, Pesquisa e Extensão – Teaching, Research, and Extension Council) with the support of government which was represented during the approval meeting by two black women who were actively participants of black Movements in Brazil, Matilde Ribeiro and Professor Petronilha Beatriz Goncalvez e Silva. In 2002, for the first time a left wing political party elected a president. “Partido dos Trabalhadores” (PT – Work Party) made a compromise with its electorate to implement more inclusive policies, not only for blacks, but also for women and other excluded groups. One of the first acts of this government was the approval of the law that addressed the obligation of teaching Afro-Brazilian history and culture in the public school system (Law 10.639/03). PT was the only political party in Brazil which had a strong committee for discussion of race, racism, discrimination, and race policy until that presidential election. Another act, as a response to inside party pressure, was to create a Secretary with a Ministry character, “Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da

Igualdade Racial (Seppir – Especial Secretary of Policies for Promotion of Racial Equality), to promote racial equality. Thus, it is possible to say that the United Nations Conference against racism and the change of the government party have created a favorable external environment for the approval of affirmative action in Brazilian Universities.

The discussion about affirmative action, racism in Brazil and its reflection in the university system was added to UnB agenda in the end of 1990's following the government and incisive black social movements' demands. For example, in the “Marcha Zumbi dos Palmares”, in honor of the former enslaved and fugitive Zumbi dos Palmares, affirmative action was already demanded as a tool for combating racism and advocating black inclusion in higher education while considering the possibilities for better jobs. However, what highlighted the importance of the issue besides the data of the very few and almost non-presence of blacks in the university was an explicitly case of racism at UnB. In 1998, the PhD. graduate student of the Department of Anthropology, Arivaldo Lima Alves, was reprovado in an obligatory course during the first year without any kind of explanation by his professor. Suddenly his professor reprovado him besides the fact he was considered one of the best students the department had had and he was also the first black PhD. student. He was the first person to be reprovado in that course in the 20 years of its existence. During the semester, the professor received and returned all assignments to students, but not to him. At the end, he received a low grade. When the student contested the grade, the answer was he was not good enough. Only after two

years of internal process, the highest council of the university obligated the department to revise his grade. The process could destroy his academic career as well as the financial support he had at the time. However, as a self-moral motivation based on his participation on black movements, he decided not to abandon the process (Santos, 2007). Later, he was approved. The professors who stood by his side, among them his advisor Professor Jose Jorge de Carvalho and Professor Rita Laura Segato, advocated for him by denouncing the racist character the university maintained and by criticizing white privileges which block blacks from university spaces.

These professors support can be observed by their personal involvement in defending the student, but this support affected negatively their professional and personal lives. For example, Professor Segato was fired from her post of Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of Anthropology and Professor Jose Jorge was isolated by his colleagues. Institutionally, they were punished by their colleagues with the “Voto de Censura” (Censure vote), a tool of the Brazilian dictatorship regime for controlling behavior at Universities. This was the only case registered at UnB in the democratic period (Siqueira, 2004, 174). Professor Segato, in interview, declared that she also has lost all of her friends because she is Argentinian and for many years her best friends in Brasilia were her colleagues in the Department of Anthropology: “I would say that I lost all friends that I had that time, all of them”. This situation became known as the “Caso Ari” (Ari Case). The case was primordial for showing the contradiction and internal conflicts regarding race relations at the university and in Brazilian society, as well as the

professors' involvement with the quota system proposal (Santos, 2007). Subsequently, with the support of black movements' individuals and affirmative action proponents, Professors Carvalho and Segato presented the "Plano de Metas para a Integração Social, Étnica e Racial da Universidade de Brasília" (Plan of Goals for the Social, Ethnic, and Racial Integration at the University of Brasilia) in order to implement quota system for black and indigenous people in "Núcleo de Estudos Afro Brasileiros" (NEAB – Afro-Brazilian Study Group) space. It is important to note that the proposal was composed of a coalition effort of professors, staff, students, and civil society members from inside and outside the university. Thus, the discussion about affirmative action at UnB was in development before the international seminal point of the Conference of Durban. Additionally, since 2000, some other universities were conducting research regarding the interference of race on higher education such as the "Cor da Bahia" (Bahia Color) at the Federal University of Bahia that was the first university census research. The astonishing example is that blacks were just 2% of the university population in Brazil at the time while represented 47% of the population (Carvalho, 2005, 52).

The results of that major research reference confirmed that Brazilian universities were/are segregated in terms of race, and these results were used as evidence to demonstrate the urgent character of racial inclusion in higher education. Thus, it is a result of social demands in which UnB was involved (Siqueira, 2004). Consequently, in 2002, the proposal was ready to be voted on the highest council at the university (CEPE) by an institutional tool called "autonomia universitária" (university autonomy) by which

each university has the right and duty to choose their own policies in many subjects. One of them is the way the “vestibular” (Annual or semestrial general exams that encompasses disciplines from Portuguese and Arts to Biology and Mathematics the semestrial exam that students with high school graduates have to take in order to go to college) should be organized and conducted:

In the year of 2002, the discussion initiated by the professors Carvalho and Segato thought their proposal of reservation of seats for black and indigenous students was already consolidated. On one side, this was a result of the internal context. The cases of racial discrimination – the Ari Case and the uprising of the student organization EnegreSer – as well as the politization of the discussion about sub-representation of blacks in the student and professor bodies fomented an environment of non-satisfaction regarding usual explanations and traditional proposals alike. On the other side, the pertinence and the necessity of discussion were legitimate in those years for the state and social movements’ agency (Siqueira, 2004, 177). [Translated by the author.]

The quota system for blacks and indigenous at the University of Brasilia was approved by CEPE in 2003 with immediate implementation in 2004. The proposal was a result of some, very few actually, debates and specifies how this kind of affirmative action should work and about the idea of quotas themselves and affirmative action (Santos, 2007). The objective of the Plan of Goals was divided in three main sections regarding entrance process, and basically it reserved seats from discriminates populations. The first one addresses the dynamic of access to the seats. The university was to reserve 20% of available seats for blacks and browns – color categories accordingly to the Brazilian system of classification – in competition on “vestibulares”

for all offered majors. It also predicted some seats for indigenous people, but in a different type of exam and for specific majors depending on negotiation between indigenous communities and the governmental agency that is responsible for them, “Fundação Nacional do Índio” (FUNAI – Indigenous National Foundation). Under the Brazilian laws, indigenous people do not have autonomy nor are they full citizens; they are considered “children” who the state to take care of. The number of seats for indigenous people cannot exceed twenty per year. The last section proposed a secondary policy of incentive for public high school students apply to highly competitive majors.

The second section of the plan presented the creation of policies that could guarantee the permanence of the quota system students in their respective programs and would diminish the possibilities of desistence. In this sense, the university was to offer living allowance for indigenous students and for black students in poverty. UnB must provide housing for indigenous students in partnership with FUNAI. Black students should enter in the general program offered by the university and be given preference for housing. In a larger sphere, the university had to be responsible for the implementation of a psych-pedagogic plan, or tutoring, which should have a non-obligatory character, available for those freshmen who felt they had difficulties in adaptation to courses and the university. The university must have an office for receiving complaints of discrimination and promoting the inclusion of black and indigenous people, and members of other minority groups. In order to implement these primary and secondary policies, a nominated committee formed by staff and professors who were members of CEPE had to

facilitate the implementation process as well as to elaborate constant evaluation of the programs and its secondary policies. The program was to have the duration of 10 years and then, it should be evaluated for continuation or not. The commission was to be responsible for creating venues in public schools in the Federal District where the cities are/were segregated spatially from the center of the capital. This first document which described the race policy was approved by the academic community that supported it with hopes that besides physical inclusion of these populations the university could be really more diverse even in human knowledge production. Although this proposal was approved by the Council, the development and implementation of the policy followed a different path than the initially described, as it will be shown shortly while commenting on specifics how the implementation was.

Immediately after the approval of the plan the next moment was when the final details should be decided by the CEPE commission such as what criteria should be used in order to classify “vestibular” candidates for the quotas system and the procedures to ensure a method of verification of these candidacies. The method of classification should be in according to IBGE that established a color classification by which people should self-declare their color among these options: white, black, brown, yellow, and indigenous. After aggregating socio-economic information with these categories, the racial classification as black was also to be used. Thus, the university presents in the application form the option for candidates to check the box of color classification and assign a declaration that they consider themselves as blacks, a racial group. People who

have participated in other programs of affirmative action in other state universities were invited to give opinions on how these procedures should be. One of the juridical advisors of the State University of Bahia (UNEB), Humberto Adami, called attention to the necessity of a mechanism that must guarantee some certainty while dealing with frauds on self-declaration, for example, when white folks declared to be blacks in order to facilitate their entrance. Adami demanded that the university should implement some measure or he would enter with a juridical process regarding the necessity of this apparatus in every public exam. This threat was received as proposal but it faced resistance of those who had discussed extensively and made the proposal. UnB and the group who were responsible for the commission, very linked with the vice-president at that period, Professor Timothy Muholland, decided to add this detail to the process. Professor Muholland and Professor Dóris Santos de Farias can be considered very important “policy brokers”, who principal concern is to find reasonable compromise which will reduce intense conflict (Sabatier, 2007). Professor Muholland comment his support based on personal motivation, supported by data for academic convincement, advocated the approval and conducted the transition for implementation, in a first moment as university vice-president, and later, as president. In his words,

Once the proposal was elaborated and well-funded, it was ready. Then, by consulting and reading that, if you did not have an opinion about it, they convince that the discrimination and exclusion was brutal. This project [research of racial presence in higher education] was instrumental, very important, very well-done, and in fact, convinced some agents. [...] We have invited them [Ministry Marilde and Counselor Petronilha], and they have presented. It was full [the CEPE

meeting], it had quorum and the conditions were favorable. But it was not in the voting agenda. [...] Doris and Jorge have done a poll, and they thought that they had the majority [for approval] Thus, I used the university statute which permits that the Council change its voting agenda if the majority approved. I asked if I could change the agenda, the Council approved. Then, we approved the proposal at that time, there. It was very beautiful, with a lot of emotion. The feeling was that we were making history. [Tranlated by the author.]

The approval was a moment of political decision and the quota system for blacks can be considered a legacy of his administration, mainly because he was one of the few university administrative heads and formal representatives that defended the adoption of this kind of race policy publically and nationally. However, the opinion of the proposers were that the unique politically way to the criteria of racial belonging should be the self-declaration as discussed by Siqueira (2004, 181). Indeed, Professor Segato declared that “the way that they [quotas] were implemented was a kidnapping of the original project, of the destiny that this historical project was supposed to constitute”. In the end, the candidate’s photograph should be attached in the application and judged by a commission of members of academic community (students and professors) and black social movement members. This was the method used in the first years of implementation.

The next step was to define how the exams should be evaluated. UnB has had basically two main methods of entrance, the traditional “vestibular” and the PAS (Programa de Avaliação Seriada – Program of Partial Evaluation). PAS was a kind of “vestibular” but students have to take a portion of the exam regarding the official curricula of that period, and after three years, they could go to the university directly with the accumulation of grades while registered in high school. However, the competition and

background of students were very unequal as well as the demand of content. Thus, the council decided that the racial quota system will be implemented just in the traditional “vestibular” exams. The candidates must take the same exam, in content, duration, date and time, but they should compete among themselves and achieve the minimum required in all major choices to guarantee their entrance. If the 20% of the reserved seats were not filled, the remaining seats must go to the competition in the universal system as usual. This process is the same up to the present “vestibular” exams but will change for the first semester of 2013 for aggregating the new law that reserve seats for students that comes from public high schools and among them, low-income students.

The reactions to the quota system adopted at the University of Brasilia were very contradictory. On one side, there were those who were favorable and conscious of Brazilian racial relations and racial inequalities on access to education in general and higher education in particular. On other side, there were those against who defended the impossibility to define who is black and who is not in a country of miscegenated people, claiming the proffered racialization of the country that is not racialized, among other arguments (Santos, 2007). They argued that there is racism in Brazil but claim affirmative action policies based only on race is to import a foreign model of understanding of Brazil and to reinforce discrimination, because these policies are discriminatory against poor whites in their opinion, for instance. The Brazilian problem regarding inequality was poverty itself and a class issue not related to race at all; it is not considered the extension of racism. The public debates, at least the one the media lead on

the contrary side, were very weak and did not properly present the debate and proposal to the people at all. For example, many people thought that the quality of the institution would decline because these students would have their entrance facilitated, because of race, so the merit requirement would be left out. Merit is the basic requirement of “vestibular” by which students who deserve the seats are those that study and prepare more. It is interesting to observe that black social movements, activists, and intellectuals also had different opinions about the race policy and move between pros and cons. The same divergence of opinion was inside the university because the policy was approved by the council, not always in symphony with the majority. As Santos (2007) demonstrated by research conducted before the approval, there was no favorable environment for approval, 61.8% of professors were against quota system for blacks while 28.7 were favorable (Santos, 2007, 364). If we make the range of the discussion and influence of those involved broader, the dynamic of power dispute can be observed in many public and private institutions and other universities.

To offer a chance of clearly overcoming social and economic inequalities for those victims of chronic racism and discrimination over the centuries is also to challenge the balance of power, because those who control it are those who attended public universities in Brazil. The access and maintenance of elite status and economic/power positions are at the core of the political dispute regarding the quota system for blacks (Santos, 2007, 496). In this country, the state continues to be the best employer and patrimonialism (the confusion among the relationship between public and private in

which the public becomes private) is its character since the colonial period (Holanda, 1997; Faoro, 2008). It has not changed much since it is possible to observe by the past and current cases of corruption and deviation of public money for instance. The majority of people who the best public jobs are primarily white from middle and upper classes who have attended good and excellent private high schools in order to increased their chance in doing well in “vestibulares”. Public elementary and high schools are not always able to offer good quality education at the level of vestibular exams. In this sense, it is contradictory the way the education system works. Those who have more resources pay for good high school education, and then, attend public universities. And among those, who attend public schools, just a minority is able to do well on exams and achieve their seat. The majority go to private universities. They have to work and pay for it. The present government is responsible for an expansion of the private university system because it have offered incentives, such as fellowship to public school and low-income students and the universities that adhere receive fiscal and taxes incentives. Therefore, it was expected that social, political, and institutional conservative reactions based on the argument that affirmative action is negatively impacted Brazilian national identity and state organization and access as it is known. Their reaction and arguments are in accord with the racial democracy myth. This understanding placed national identity and the founding myth as a mix and junction of three distinct people: whites, blacks, and indigenous, and implement race policy will break even the bases of Brazilian democracy and republican principles (Carneiro, 2007).

Despite societal and institutional reaction the quota system for blacks and indigenous people was implemented in the second year exam of 2004. UnB became the first university to adopt quota based only on race as variable for entrance. The program is expected to end in 2014 and has had many modifications during the implementation process considering facts that changed the policy path such as explicit racism and discrimination at the university as well as juridical questioning of the process and its internal policies in which photographs were analyzed as not a secure method. Photographs were the first step in the application process, then, the student would be considered for doing the “vestibular” by the quota system. However, there was not any kind of standard for the photos, such as light and wallpaper, factors that change how the color of the person looks. Therefore, the system of entrance started to change.

The objective of photographs was to determine the racial phenotype of candidates. Some cases of confusion, such as twins brothers in which one was considered for quotas and other was not, made the university change the process even if it would cost more than photographs. For that reason, the evaluation should be after the exams and consider just some. The second method used was interviews which were adopted for the first “vestibular” of 2008. The students who applied for quotas attended the exam; however, three times the number of seats for each major were requested to participate in the interview. The interview was also created to confirm the auto declaration of racial identification of the candidate to determine if they looked black or brown enough in order to be discriminated. However, it was understood for many that what was on the focus of

the evaluation was ancestry. Thus, many candidates were considered white but they claimed to be black, so, they deserved to participate on the quota system competition because their mother, father, grandmother, grand-grandmother were black or brown. The media and other intellectuals and members of government started to call it a racial tribunal, because it was racially judging the candidates, so the process was also racist. The interview commission was composed for the same group of people and would observe the same requirements as the photograph process, and it was supposed to confirm the phenotype of the student as being brown or black. Many students thought that if they were called to interviews they were already accepted; however, this was not the case. In both cases, photographs or interviews, once the student was considered racially black, it was not necessary to take another photo or to participate in other interview. Some professors have evaluated positively the change from photograph to interview because it created a methodology of work and training of those who participated and diminished the cases of doubt or fraud if the process.

Some changes that I address that were positive are changes in format, “vestibular” format of student selection. [...] When there is a change from photographs to interviews, it was a big change. It was significative and qualitatively ameliorated the student selection of those who got in. Of course, as every policy, it has its... how can I say? [...] it is not 100% effective. [...] What I address as positive is this change and the creation of a methodology of work and of selection of those people who are part of the commission. Thus, this was a fact that ameliorated in the last years; therefore, my evaluation is positive in this sense. [Translated by the author.]

Entrance was the main focus of the new policy; however, secondary policies were predicted by the Plan of Goals and were also to be implemented. In the following year, 2005, after implementation of admission process at UnB in 2004, nine universities which had adopted racial quota systems, among them UnB, were invited by the Ministry of Health in partnership with the “Secretaria Especial de Direitos Humanos” (SDH - Human Right Especial Secretary), linked to the Presidency, Seppir, and the Ministry of Education for participating in the “Brasil Afroatitude – Programa Integrado de Ações Afirmativas para Universitários Negros” (Brazil Afroatitude - Integrated Program of Affirmative Action for Blacks University Students) as a combined measure for helping to empower those black students with research, teaching, and extension activities and experiences. Each university was to select Professors to coordinate these actions with intersections on health and the challenges thereof regarding Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). At UnB, the program was coordinated by Professor Mario Angelo Silva, Department of Social Service, who organized the selection of projects and students. Fifty students were to be selected in each university and with their advisors, they developed those activities with financial help that were the same amount the scientific initiation fellowships offered by these universities.

It is a collective effort that moves us in the sense of constructing a public policy proposal that can tie the programmatic experience of the struggle against the aids epidemics and the experience of affirmative action policy, which value and guarantee the full people citizenship. [...] In this perspective, it is aimed to stimulate and protagonism of black population. (Secretaria Especial de Direitos Humanos, 2005, 5). [Translated by the author.]

This pioneer program had fourteen months of financing and implementation. Unfortunately, after this first year, any measure by the participant partners was adopted in order to guarantee further actions and enhancements of the program. Thus, after this period, in the specific case of UnB, students who have participated of the program in the first year organized a movement for demanding the university to finance and to maintain the program, and to extend the fields of research and other activities. Later in 2006, UnB became responsible for the continuity of the program at the same time that blocked its actions for not creating a structure of organization of this kind of program. Students have complained over the years for the way the university treats the program, with no priority and no full support. Presently, the number of offered fellowships and research proposals decreased as well as the amount paid and political formation of the students. Nevertheless, the experience of the program at the university had offered to many students this possibility of political formation that they did not have access on courses that addressed racial relations or departmental formation in black studies, as they discussed in the focus group activity and as I attested as a former group member.

Also in 2006, the “Assessoria de Diversidade e Apoio aos Cotistas” (ADAC – Diversity and Support to Quota System Students Advisory) was created as a response to the new challenges the university was facing regarding the adoption of the racial quota system, new demands at the university environments, and its pioneering on the federal sphere. Advising the Presidency on diversity and stimulating, formulating, and executing

programs that would bring this topic to discussion and advocating inclusion through human rights perspectives were the main functions the new office had. Regarding the new black population at the university, the advisory was responsible for monitoring students that were accepted by the quota system and for coordinating the “Centro de Convivência Negra” (CCN – Center for Black Coexistence), also created that year. CCN was imagined to be a center for reference of Affirmative action material at the university as well as a space to be shared with students in order to promote social approximation of the quota system students and other black students at the University. The project highlights that it was not a place as a ghetto for quota system students only, but a space that would value their presence. The creation of this center is based on a psychological analysis of phobia regarding racist practices, so, the physical presence of a center to gather and stimulate black presence and contributions would diminish the degree of racism at the university space. In spite of contrary position to the center creation as well as difficult in draining resources to the institutionalization of the advisory in CCN, the advisory had coordinated research about quota system students who have graduated and had created mechanisms for monitoring and supporting these students. The advisory has proposed the creation of a “Centro de Pesquisa e Convivência Negra” (CPCN - Center of Research and Black Coexistence), an effort to cluster those projects the university develops regarding race relations as their core. Representative Professors who coordinated a different project at the university, gathered to approve the “Regimento Interno” (Internal Statute) for its creation, administration and commission formation of

the new center. Nevertheless, the issue was not appreciated by the general administration to be voted and approved. The university just changed Presidency and vice-Presidency, and at this point, the field research for this thesis discussion did not point out any tendency of the new group to approve this proposal of clustering racial relations research, teaching, and extension efforts and projects. The creation of a center like this proposed is a necessary step toward a secure institutional venue that does not depend on the elected administration to work.

Another episode that changed the secondary policies after entrance was an incendiary case of the “Casa do Estudante Universitário⁶ (CEU – Student Housing) against black students from Africa, in 2007. CEU was projected by UnB for receiving students of low-income, classified in Group I or II in order to receive school benefits accordingly to their family’s income, from others states in Brazil. With time, it was also used to receive low-income students from Africa. In the case, fire was set at the door of the African students’ apartment door. The students who suffered this outrage used to live in the second floor and they did not have another way to leave the apartment besides the door. Because of it, it was not only an attempt to damage public good but also an attempt to murder. Students organized protests mainly aligned with “EnegreSer” (Coletivo Negro do Distrito Federal e Entorno – Black Collective of Federal District and Surrounding Areas), a black social movement at the university that was founded in 2001 by black students as an respond to a racist behavior of UnB staff in a university party. African

⁶ <http://noticias.universia.com.br/destaque/noticia/2007/03/30/425074/unb-reao--xenofobia.html>

students, as any international student, were/are not allowed to participate of any political activity by law. The result of the demands of protesters was the debate for a program to combat racial discrimination, racism, and xenophobia at the university. Many of these African students have also addressed many cases of prejudice in classrooms but they were not active voices against these problems for the fear of being deported. Participants of “EnegreSer” and of the student body were present to demand and to help to organize the “Programa de Combate ao Racismo e à Xenofobia⁷” (Program of Combating Racism and Xenophobia) that was created in the 2008. The program is located in a branch on Extension office for promotion of activities and coordination of courses related to racial relations and for combating racism at the university. Cases of violence or exhibition of racism were not normally revealed at the university, but they were/are always present since the quota system was approved. Common methods of racist behavior have been writings on restrooms walls, blogs without identifiable owners, and use of social networks. Thus, demands for more aggressive policies of combating this kind of behavior were in place long before those Africans students enrolled in Brazilian universities.

Following these incidents, the most valuable and long term action was the introduction and maintenance of the course called “Pensamento Negro Contemporâneo” (Black Contemporary Thought). It is also administrated by the Department of Extension and the “Núcleo de Promoção da Igualdade Racial” (Center for Promoting Racial Equality) at UnB. This venue is the same responsible for the program of combating

⁷ <http://www.unb.br/noticias/releases/releases.php?id=23>

racism and xenophobia. The course is offered as extension activity opened to an academic audience of students, staff, and faculty; however, it is open to the community in general as well. It is also offered at different times to fit the more number of attendances as possible because it is not an obligatory course. This can be seen as a conquest of the black student movement inside the university as well as a response to the law that obligates the teaching of black history and culture by providing a course to discuss questions about black people in Brazil, racism, discrimination, affirmative action, and Brazilian racial relations. Although “EnegreSer” group is not active presently, they left a legacy of non-conformism and expansion of racial discussion and the black protagonism inside the university. Clearly, the continuation of a course like this provides an optimal tool of knowledge production more diverse in racial terms as well as a chance of intellectual advancement of the discussion at the university and diverse communities.

In 2009, the quota system was questioned in the “Superior Tribunal Federal” (STF –Brazilian Supreme Court), among other juridical processes, after years of retaliation by the media and among other universities and intellectual such as demonstrated by public letters and newspapers editorials. The protesters were claiming that the quota system based on race that UnB had adopted was not constitutional. It demanded the nullity of public institution’s act in the name of the University of Brasilia under “Arguição de Descumprimento de Preceito Fundamental” (ADPF – Complaint of Breach of Fundamental Precept) because the policy discriminated by race and any kind of discrimination is not allowed by the constitution. At stake was any kind of affirmative

action in case the Court voted against it, even though the process just questioned quotas for blacks and not for indigenous people and reinforced the necessity of social quotas bases on income and public school attendance. In May 2012, the process was considered inconsistent by the votes of all Ministers who argued the constitution was on the side of the necessity of achieving substantial equality, so affirmative action was needed. Indeed, the Brazilian government has implemented many kinds of affirmative action, such as reserving of seats at public exams for bureaucratic positions and determining the percentage of women in public parties. Interesting, none of them was questioned publically as the quota for blacks. Therefore, the court understood that there was not any constitutional barrier for implementation of inclusive policies and affirmative action of any kind is inclusive.

This decision was, in fact, decisive because a bill that was in Congress for more than 10 years and addressed about quota system that was approved in August, 2012. Although the quota system for blacks initiated the discussion about inclusion at public universities, the adoption of this new law (12.711/2012) diminished the role of race and emphasized the role of income and public school attendance. In this sense, all federal universities and school of technical education were to reserve a minimum of 50% of the seats for those who entirely completed public high schools and among them, black and indigenous people according to the census percentage on each state. Inside this percentage, 50% must be considered low-income students with equal or less the value of 1.5 minimum wages defined by the government. At this point blacks, browns and

indigenous are benefited from both percentages. The policy is to be implemented for 10 years and then reviewed. Public universities and technical schools had to start implementation as soon as possible, and they have four years to adjust. The Ministry of Education, Seppir, and FUNAI are required to observe, support, and evaluate the policy implementation.

UnB just published the first edict with the new law for the first “vestibular” of 2013⁸. After the demands of some faculty and students as well as pressure of federal government, the university decided to adapt internal and federal quota systems, because the one adopt in 2004 that will end in 2014, within the time required to implement the federal law. Thus, for the federal law, UnB has reserved 14.5% of the available seats or 305 of a total of 2,092 seats. The internal quota system continues to be 20% of the seats, a total of 421 seats. Finally, the universal system offers 1,366 seats for competition in “vestibular”. For this first phase, black, browns, and indigenous are benefited because the mathematical adjustment must favor these groups as well as meet the percentage for the state. In Federal District, where UnB is, these groups represent 56.19% of the population. In the end, black, browns, and indigenous with equal income or inferior 1.5 minimal wage will compete for 168 seats, with more than 1.5 minimal wage, for 124 seats. For whites, the remaining seats are eight for equal or less the income score, and five seats for more. In many majors the 56.19% of the quota system beneficiaries became 100% because the number of seat must be entirely and favorable to these groups. For the public

⁸ <http://www.unb.br/noticias/unbagencia/unbagencia.php?id=7203>

school quota system the candidate who declared being black or brown, does not have to attend an interview, but if the normal quota system is chosen, the interview process continues. The other difference is that those who compete for public school quotas was to take the “Exame Nacional de Ensino Medio” (ENEM – National Exam of High School Education) to compete in the future, not the “vestibular” offered by the university. The system will be more equal of preference of groups when the law will be fully implemented and achieve 50% of the available seats. Although the process became more complicated with the mix of two quota systems, in the first years of implementation, blacks, browns, and indigenous are clearly benefitted and can quickly change the face of many public federal universities because they are heavily present in public schools. Therefore, the maneuver of changing the focus on race by introducing the quota system has had more acceptance of public power and society, despite the fact that it is considered a governmental invasion to the university autonomy of choosing their own entrance policies.

This section presented the general guidelines and description of the case study features, the quota system for black and indigenous people at the University of Brasilia. It also presented some developments about secondary policies while in the process of implementation of the first quota system and the new federal regulation. The next section will discuss the policy in terms of process evaluation in which the policy will be analyzed from a top-down and bottom-up perspectives in order to investigate coalition formation

framework and the proposed face of institutional racism considering identity recognition and legitimacy of these policies.

POLICY ANALYSIS

The chosen model of analysis was a combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches of policy processes. Eventually, when the UnB's quota system for blacks was questioned in the Supreme Court by character of race policy as well as by its secondary policies implementation, such as photograph and interview analysis, the case could be observed as a field for dispute of two different coalitions formed by two main groups, one in favor of the continuation and expansion of affirmative action and other against any kind of policy that considers race as variable. Thus, a coalition framework of policy process is needed in order to show how the system of beliefs interferes with the way institutions deal with affirmative action implementation. Since coalitions are formed by public and private actors distributed in many institutions, specifically in this case study, higher education subsystem, the results of this research aim to be considered generally applied. This specific moment of coalition formation is precisely when the policy analysis can lead to possible identification of reasons for blocking affirmative action implementation.

This blocking process is linked with institutional racism and its operations regarding identity recognition and acceptance of affirmative policies as legitimated, such

as proposed by the presented hypothesis. Although, focusing on the individuals as actors who are part or share the advocacy coalition opinions can suggest that this thesis is considering that institutions are not racist or reproduce racist practices; this is not the case, since these actors evaluate their field of interference by the gaps institutions leave to this practice. This hypothesis conceptualization of institutional racism is that it is structural and present in Brazilian institutions as a reflection of societal racism that disregard its own role on the naturalization of inequalities and maintenance of blacks subordinated positions over time. The decision of choosing a mixed approach for policy analysis was based on the developments of the University of Brasilia's racial quota system in order to show its developments since the process of decision to the approval of the federal law 12711/2012 that interfered with procedures of admission in all federal universities in Brazil, including UnB. A summary table below presents the specific policy's moments and the framework used for policy analysis by following the logic of policy development and the hypothesis investigation.

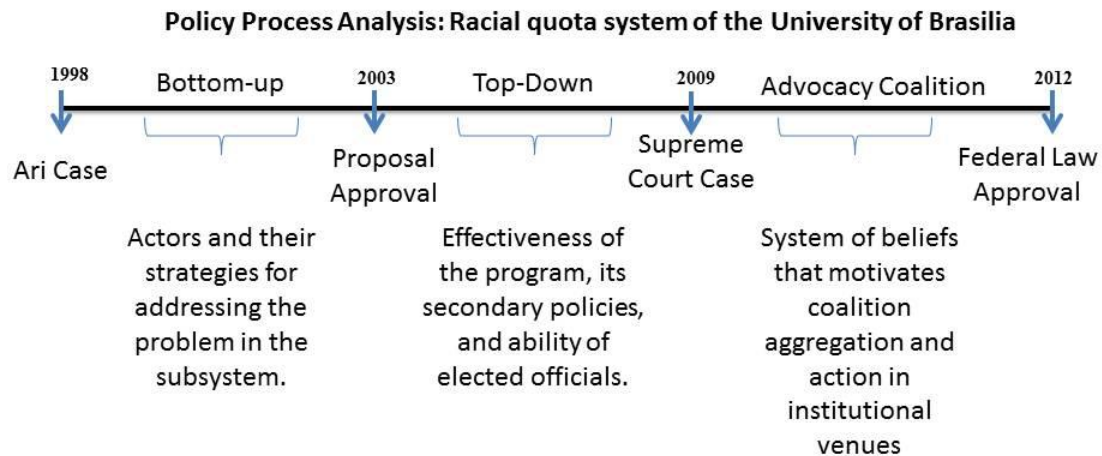


Figure 1: Policy Process Analysis

The methodological choice is based on the Sabatier's (1986, 2007) formulation of Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and its further developments. I have chosen not to use this specific framework in its complete form during the policy analysis because the objective is to show how the policy developed in order to be possible to observe clearly the advocacy coalition formation with aggregation of actors of different institutions and of civil society over the implementation period. Sabatier's ACF comes from a mixed top-down and bottom-up process analysis for long-time policies, ten years or more. The

objective is to observe how the policy develops by focusing on the learning features of the process and how actors, in and out of policy management, influence the process over time. Additionally, the analysis of advocacy coalition is focused on the system of beliefs that motivate an aggregation of actors. Their political actions are considered in order to investigate to what extent this system of beliefs can be linked with practices that block the full implementation of affirmative policies and the acceptance of those who lost in the policy dispute, as well. The description and analysis is based on documental research of the main involved institutions; articles, dissertations, and books that focus in the specific case of UnB; interviews with professors, staff members, and students about the process of decision of the quota system as well as their opinion on implementation and racism at the university as fully described in the introduction.

Mapping the actors

The introduction of the topic of racial discrimination and racist at the UnB arose from the internal case of an explicitly racist posture of professors in the Department of Anthropology that resulted in a long and exhausted process known as “Caso Ari.” Following this important moment in the process, the discussion headed to the subsystem of higher education, first step of the policy analysis to identify the government subsystem. Professor Jose Jorge de Carvalho (2005) was responsible for conducting research on the university census. Specifically at UnB, the general result, by aggregation

with other universities, was the demonstration of segregation that Brazilian universities have maintained over time. Thus, at this first moment, the main actors were professors involved with the PhD student Ari while he was accusing his department for a racist posture of a professor that counted with the full department's support. It is important to highlight that the two professors involved directly with the "Caso Ari" were supported by some others from other departments that were open to discuss racism at the university as well as support activities that could present the topic in seminars and lectures with the later pre-conferences regarding the preparation for Durban, 2001. Thus, the attention to the issue of racial discrimination that maintained excluded black, brown, and indigenous population out of the university as well as racism and its extension entered the internal agenda of the university, creating a policy problem and demand for correction and reparation.

Another important actor is the black movement, in that moment and every time affirmative action was demanded as access to education. There is not only one united black movement that aggregates all demands or shares the same opinion, but rather, there are many different black movements and organizations with very different postures and positions in Brazil. Sometimes, they differ fiercely about certain topics. Affirmative action and race policy are one of the sharpest issues regarding how society is debated them and some black movements, organization, and black public persons assumed a very conservative position. This moment of society discussion of the topic was a period that they needed unity, but it did not happen at all. However, by the advocacy of "Movimento

Negro Unificado” (MNU – Unified Black Movement), a national organization that aimed to coordinate the action and communication among the different black movements in Brazil, it was possible to observe a coordination of opinion over time regarding the support for affirmative action for the majority of these movements as well as black public speakers. Considering the black movements demand over time, before and after the end of slavery (1888), during republican declaration (1889), and after the public school system creation during Vargas’s government (1930’s), access to education was always an important and priority issue. Education was seen as a key path out of poverty, an entrance in the labor market, and a chance of ascending on the social economic strata. The process after the end of slavery was not the reallocation ex-enslaved people in the labor market, but rather, the government encouraged European immigration as a race cleanser project of black Brazilians as is very well discussed by Nascimento (1989). Nascimento himself was a very well situated militant of the black movement since his experiences in “Teatro Experimental Negro” (Black Experimental Theater) founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1944. He was the first legislator who proposed a bill that addressed affirmative action for blacks in different sectors from education to job market and media. Later, while elected officials were writing and reviewing the new constitution, some black folks were elected and participated in the process advocating for the anti-racist character the new constitution must have.

Over the years, ramifications of these black movements were at universities, and UnB was not an exception. Black movements gained new breath after the organization of

“Marcha Zumbi dos Palmares” (Zumbi from Palmares March) by which many people crowded the street in front of the Federal Congress and Ministries denouncing racism and demanding policies for black people after 300 hundred years of the death of Zumbi dos Palmares, the strongest black leadership during slavery that was responsible for resistance at “Quilombo dos Palmares” in Alagoas, Brazil. “Movimento Negro Unificado” influenced the appearance of new black movements as well as incentive affirmation of black identity in many communities from urban to rural communities. During the “Ari Case” there was not a black movement at the university. However, “EnegreSer” was a young and strong voice at the university when racial quotas became an issue of the political agenda. The group claimed for protagonist participation blacks in this process. At the university, they represented this voice, the voice of black movement and black protagonism. Santos (2007, 404) argued that they were also responsible for the moral pressure that the council was forced into for approving the quota system at UnB. Important to highlight that it was a small group that founded among their members a place for shared solidarity and support while dealing with the university itself as students, with the racial character of their identity in a racist and excluding environment: “In any major we were present, there was an isolation. And we started to approximate for some common courses and other for common spaces, of a hot dog, in the restaurant for sharing ideas, approximating and empowering (EnegreSer member)”[Translated by the author]. In this process, they were responsible for provoking many discussions in order to promote the racial debate among students.

Rocha (2006) widely discussed the introduction of the racial topic in the present government agenda by focusing on the black movements influence in political party dynamics before elections while analyzing affirmative action in education. He highlighted the 1980's political movements for re-democratization and the introduction of a new constitution which was the scenario that PT was just founded and supported by many black movements in Brazil, mainly concentrated in São Paulo. Before and during the support for PT, the only other party that addressed or recognized the importance of black movements' demands was "Partido Democrático Brasileiro" (PDT – Brazilian Democratic Party) in which the racial agenda was led by Abdias do Nascimento and Alceu Colares. However, PT carried the agenda of affirmative action adoption than other parties by the end of 1990's and beginning of 2000's. The presence of black leadership inside the PT's structure was responsible for the insertion of the demands of black movements in the party agenda as well as in the government after the election of former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in 2002. The struggle inside the party was not easy and the acceptance was difficult. After the election, the racial agenda generated discontent because it did not follow what was planned and discussed inside the party committees. Rocha (2006) also discussed the way the Law 10.639/03 – that addressed the obligation of teaching Afro-Brazilian History and Culture at school system – can be observed as a policy maneuver that the government used in order to calm down the unsatisfied voices inside the party, for instance. The new government must follow the document elaborated by party leaderships called "Brasil Sem Racismo" (BSR – Brazil

without Racism) and must create structural support for it. Later, in the same year, Seppir was created and it is responsible for:

Formulation, coordination, and articulation of policies and guidelines for promoting racial equality; formulation, coordination, and evaluation of affirmative public policies for promotion of equality and protection of individuals rights and ethnic groups, with emphasis in the black population, which is affected by racial discrimination and other forms of intolerance; Articulation, promotion, and monitoring the execution of cooperation programs with national and international organization, public and private, that are focused on the implementation of racial equality promotion; coordination and monitoring of transversal government policies for promoting racial equality; planning, coordination of execution, and evaluation of the National Program of Affirmative Action (“Programa Nacional de Ação afirmativa”); Monitoring of affirmative action legislation implementation and definitions of public actions that aim the implementation of accords, convections, and other similar instruments assigned by Brazil, regarding promotion of equality and combating of racial or ethnic discrimination (<http://www.seppir.gov.br/sobre>). [Translated by the author.]

This was a policy breakthrough moment inside the public power and the state in Brazil in spite of the strong resistance. It represented the political willingness of implementing a racial equality agenda, besides external and internal resistance, while at the same time allocated black individuals as heads of white collar bureaucracy institutions and public organizations. It is useful to highlight that the increasing of demands and successful moment of agenda implementation are a result from black social movements that had important moments for growing and maturing while sharing the struggle against racism and racial discrimination, such as represented by the creation of MNU to the organization and “Marcha Zumbi dos Palmares.” The former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso, thus, recognized the racist character of Brazilian society and

state. During his government venues for racial policies were opened, and extensively extended during President Silva's government affirmative action agenda conducted by demands inside the structure of the party and linked with black movements and symbolized by the declaration of the day of November 20th and the national day of "Consciência Negra" (Black Consciousness) in November 2003. Although advancements on the racial agenda are highlighted in the last decade, the execution of the approved budget for 2012 did not achieve even 10% by the end of October (Inesc, 2012, 18). This study points out this is the effect of institutional racism that

conducts the public managers of different Ministries and federal Institutions do not prioritize the formulation and affirmative action and equality promotion policies. Once budget bill is sent to the National Congress (Congresso Nacional), there is also an absence of debate about the topic because the black population is sub-represented in the Parliament (Inesc, 2012, 9). [Translated by the author.]

International institutions and organizations can also be considered influential actors in this process. During the 1990's after the period of non-growth in Latin America, the World Bank implemented programs of combating poverty as well as has been financing social and economic research in the area while adopting neoliberal policies. The social research has confirmed that poverty has an intimate link with race, and/or color issues, in Brazil. Another international actor was/is the United Nation Organization (UN) that since the middle of the past century has investigated racism and discrimination in Brazil. The first objective was to investigate the "real" character of the claimed racial democracy. Thus, since the first research, the link between class and race was revealed

and specifically discussed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) research during the 1960's under coordination of Florestan Fernandes (1978) who addressed the un-reveled character of racism and the link discrimination has had for maintaining blacks in poverty as a reflection of slavery and not allowing insertion in the new capitalist order. Although he recognized the role racial discrimination has in determining status, his arguments are fundamentally classist biased on a Marxist framework.

The UN Conference against Racism in Durban 2001 is constantly addressed in every text, article, and note about the evolution of race policy in Brazil as an effective starting point. Before this conference, Brazil had assigned international treaties in order to implement inclusive policies for discriminated population such as blacks and women, such as in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) in New York 1969, and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing 2005. However, in the Durban conference the compromise was to develop and implement affirmative action measures for blacks. These policies' objectives were explicitly to combat racism and racial discrimination. It was also seen as a way to follow the UN Millennium Development Goals. As an example of international cooperation, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and UNESCO released the program called "Integrated Strategy for Combat Racism", in partnership with Ipea, in Brazil, for coordinating and conducting policies and research together (Rocha, 2006). This cooperation enabled sharing tools for researching. As a result, they re-affirmed the

real necessity for implementing race policies regarding the large racial socio-economic differences over time and without better results even with the implementation and expansion of universal policies in many fields such as education, health, and social security.

In summary, actors are divided in internal and external spaces of pressure. External of UnB's dynamic, the government and the international institutions had a role in creating at least an environment that was in general politically favorable to the real implementation of affirmative action. Internally, actors such as professors, staff, and students were responsible for bringing the sharpest side of racism and discrimination at the university to the public and for demanding correction. The actor that crossed the line between institutions and people were the black social movements, well exposed by Rocha (2006) and Santos (2007). One of Professor Santos (2007) research questions are why, besides the internal non-favorable environment at UnB, the quota system was still approved in that moment. The absolute majority of professors (52.2%) and graduate students (55.4%) were against the implementation of affirmative action for blacks, a fact that created an environment that presented a strong resistance of the project. The research was before the approval of the policy. Maybe this position has changed after almost ten years of implementation, but at the time the decision was made, the climate was clearly of resistance. Presently, CEPE⁹ decisions indicate that they continue to approve policies by a minority vote, a professor commented:

⁹ "Conselho de Ensino, Pesquisa e Extensao" - Teaching, Research, and Extension Council.

For what we have been observing of approval of changes in the university structure, they [changes] have been vanguard's positions... when you are out of CEPE and come to work with implementation of affirmative action inside the university, you start to notice that "things" did not work. Then you start to identify racist behaviors or positions against the policy, outside this CEPE space. [Translated by the author.]

A minority approved the system; from the 61 council members, just 37 are active participants, and at the day of decision only 26 were present.¹⁰ Santos (2007) emphatically demonstrated that the topic was not discussed at all in the university and that the majority of professors was practically absent from the official discussion meetings (four in total) that invited specialists for clarifying the topic, as they did not participant of the meetings organized by NEAB and "EnegreSer".

While analyzing the process of decision of the quota system at UnB in a hostile environment, Santos' (2007) research indicated, the groups in favor of the policy did not believe its implementation and expansion of agenda were possible, and the contrary group did not expected the approval of race policy such as a quota system or other key-areas such as the extension of the Law 10.639. As Sabatier (1986, 2007) discussed, the groups in the advocacy coalition tended to over-estimate or under-estimate the strength of leverage of the other group they were in dispute with, and over time changed strategies for success by a learning process that accumulates information and experience. According to Santos (2007), the reasons of the suggestion of affirmative action proposal

¹⁰ According to official documents.

by the professors Carvalho e Segato and its approval was due to the power of influence and persuasion of the black movements' arguments. During the meeting that approved the proposal, two important black personalities were present, both of them organic black intellectuals, specialists in their topics, and representing both black movement and the government. They were the former Minister Matilde Ribeiro who represented Seppir and Professor Petronilha Beatriz Gonçalves e Silva who represented the "Conselho Nacional de Educação" (CNE – National Education Council). They also are researchers of the "Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores Negros" (ABPN – Brazilian Association of Black Researchers). Additionally, "EnegreSer's" presence and discourse forced the council representatives to vote in favor of the policy because the vote was open and some felt constrained to follow those favorable of the moment. Thus, the main strategy was public pressure and moral coercion (Santos, 2007, 404) because those contrary to the policy used the "Estratégia do Silêncio" (Strategy of Silence) by not participating in the discussions promoted by the university. This strategy failed for resulting in an academic and political disarticulation among professors who were contrary to the adoption of the racial quota system (Santos, 2007, 408). Therefore, the policy was approved in the hostile environment:

Internally, we can affirm that some factors have contributed in a significant manner for the approval of the cited proposal. Among these factors we can enumerate: a) the courage and the determination of the authors for elaborating and defending the proposal without tergiversation, as well as for politicizing the "Caso Ari." Associated with this, we have to remember the courage, effort, and determination of a small group of academics (UnB professors and students) who

provided political, academic, and emotional support to the proposal authors; b) the moral pressure, during the day of voting, from a very small group of UnB students, “EnegreSer” militants, as well as from few professors who were favorable to the quota system for blacks; c) the support for the proposal and academic-political willingness for approval of the vice-president at the time, Timothy Mulholand, and of the former-officer of extension, Dóris dos Santos Farias; d) the academic-political articulation of the vice-presidency, the Department of Extension, the proposal authors and their supporters for the participation of emblematic people in the meeting of the 6th July 2003, such as the Minister Matilde Ribeiro and the Professor Petronilha Beatriz Gonçalves e Silva. It was this articulation that have created possibilities for the black social movements to have an active voice in this meeting composition, regarding the presence of these two social agents of these movements, the Minister Matilde Ribeiro and the Professor Petronilha Beatriz Gonçalves e Silva (Santos, 2007, 407-408). [Translated by the author.]

Conditions for program effectiveness

The second phase of quota system for black at the University of Brasilia is an evaluation of the implementation process in order to observe if the policy’s immediate objectives are effectively in action and to discuss its following developments. As the construction of an advocacy coalition framework is derived from a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches, this section will address the top-down contribution by focusing on Sabatier and Mazmanian’s (1989) list of six conditions for effective implementation. The objectives are to observe if the external changes affect actor’s strategies; if the actors can manipulate the legal attributes of the program for achieving their objectives; and if the actors improve their knowledge over time in order to learn from the policy implementation experience (Sabatier, 1986, 39). The list for effective implementation is commented on their specific locus of observation for each point and,

then, the University of Brasilia's policy (quota system for blacks) observations are presented and discussed. The information used in this section comes from the documental research as well as interviews and personal experience while working at the university with diversity and race policy.

1. *Clear and consistent objectives.* Legal objectives established for the policy are observed. Objectives are the key measures that implementers have to follow as well as the main factors for evaluating the policy after implementation. The quota system for black and indigenous people at the UnB, under the plan of racial and ethnic inclusion guidance, presented clear objectives regarding a) access for blacks (20% of the seats), for indigenous people (seats to be defined by institutional partnership with indigenous communities), and for public school students (support for teaching for “vestibulares”); b) permanence by offering fellowship programs, housing for indigenous, and preference for low-income blacks to socio-economic policies, tutoring programs, office for dealing with discriminatory and racist practices at the university, and a program for monitoring the policy; c) secondary clear steps for implementation by nominating a committee responsible for transition and by supporting public campaign in public schools for presentation of the university new system of entrance and for incentive black students to apply (Carvalho&Segato, 2003, 1-3). Thus, the approved proposal supports this condition for better implementation.
2. *Adequate casual theory.* The implicit theory for effectuating social change by which the policy is based. The casual theory is what leads to the adequacy of secondary

jurisdiction and policy guidelines officials should follow. The authors of the approved proposal justify their position by three main arguments. Firstly, that the Brazilian state has assigned international compromises for implementing inclusive policies such as affirmative action for discriminated groups, among them, blacks. Secondly, the University of Brasilia creation and principal idea was innovation of the learning process and implemented a pioneer didactic method of evaluation and experimentation. Thus, UnB must continue its innovative path in pioneering new forms of democratic and pluralist practices and experimentation. Finally, they must contribute to the struggle against racial injustice that several data demonstrated regarding the exclusionary character of Universalist policies in higher education. The university must be conscious of its role in society and does not agree with these general data of racial and ethnic exclusion. Consequently, the expected positive results of the implementation of the policy are the revision and widening of content and theories long utilized in many disciplines that will be challenged to aggregate new realities from these new students' perspectives; and the addition of a non-white observation of human knowledge production in a broader sense (Carvalho&Segato, 2003, 1-6). Therefore, the proposal and implementation support this condition.

3. *Implementation process legally structured to enhance compliance by implementing officials and target groups:* legal mechanisms for veto, sanctions and incentives to overcome resistance in the process of implementation are addressed. The approved proposal did not preview or create other legal documents for support. As described

previously, some secondary policies were adopted considering new facts and new agents during the first phase of implementation such as the interference of a juridical support member of another university that clearly demanded some kind of control policy to avoid frauds by the applicants. His arguments were based on juridical norms not considered by those who had proposed the creation of the policy. Actually, as Siqueira (2004, 181) argued, the authors and some supporters did not agree with the utilization of a method for racial certification other than self-identification, a the author can attest based on a personal interview with Professor Segato, who claimed those responsible for implementation had changed the policy without considering their position and arguments. “It was a dispute of protagonisms,” in her words. The established program also did not establish any type of policy to constrain officials to fully implement all its approved determinations. Actually, the implementation was focused more on the entrance process than on secondary policies, such as psychological support which was not fully considered besides some attempts of those compromised officials. As discussed above regarding the interaction of the actors during approval, the majority of university professors, graduate students, and, possibly, staff members did not agree with the quota system approval for “blacks. Thus, they could block the implementation processes, as argued by some in interviews and experience by the author while staff member in 2009. Therefore, the policy did not contain this condition for effectiveness.

4. *Committed and skillful implementing officials.* Officials and their commitment to the policy objectives as well as their skills and available resources for achieving the policy aims are observed in this condition. After the approval, a committee was pointed in order to carry out first implementation processes; however, none of them, with the exception of Dóris Santos e Faria of the Department of Extension, neither participated in the official debates that were organized by the vice-presidency nor were they elected by the CEPE. The commission was formed by three professors (Journalism, Education, and Political Science), one student representative, and a district deputy who was absent for the majority of the meetings. The members of this commission were indicated by the vice-president and those who actively participated of the process such as Professor Nelson Inocência de Oliveira and the university researcher Sales Augusto dos Santos were not considered to be part of the commission as compromised actors for implementation (Siqueira, 2004, 168). Therefore, the indication is that this condition cannot be considered while analyzing the quota system at the University of Brasília.
5. *Support of interest groups and sovereigns.* The focus is on the recognition of the importance of the policy over time and on the maintenance of policy support during the whole process of implementation. Black social movements have been the most supportive group for policy implementation and expansion as well as those aligned with the compromise for racial justice, blacks and whites. Before the proposal approval and during implementation, it was possible to observe the action and

arguments of two clear different groups: contrary and in favor. When the University of Brasilia case was questioned on STF regarding its constitutionality, the perfect situation was created for observing how actors from different public, private, and non-governmental organizations as well as civil society, academic, intellectuals and politicians engaged in the public debate in order to defend their opinions. In general, society was forced to discuss publically and the general media had to report both arguments in the context of court discussion (contrary to the previous years while mainstream media advocated contrarily). At this moment, coalitions were fiercely clustered for defending their interests and on arguing the importance and validity of their opinion. Thus, it is possible to infer that besides the contrary positions considering the legitimacy of affirmative action, these policies have maintained support over time from these different actors that advocated for its constitutionality and continual necessity. Therefore, this condition is achieved by the public support over time; however, the opposition group must be considered as part of the debate in a pluralist democratic system.

6. *Changes in socio-economic conditions which do not substantially undermine political support.* Political and economic pressure that can cause socioeconomic changes in governments and if these changes can undermine or not the political support for the government agenda and the specific policy. The UnB's quota policy implementation is situated in a moment of economic and political stability. The government party, PT, and its allies are in presidency since 2002. There was an expansion of inclusive,

hunger, and poverty combating policies for the last ten years. Thus, it can be assumed the tendency of governmental support to affirmative action did not decrease or cease. Although an increasing of affirmative policies is widely observable in many government spheres, the analysis of the last budget (Inesc, 2012), job market and income (Laeser, 2012), and violence (Waiselfisz, 2011) among other research emphatically indicate the continuity of the challenge for implementing affirmative action, inhibiting racism and discrimination as well as including blacks in the society growth bonus. As pointed out, institutional racism has a clear role here because the state potential of promoting change is neither fully considered nor explored. The support of black movements and leadership continue to advocate for expansion of affirmative action, to demand full implementation, and to denounce and to combat racism. Some black leadership also has denounced the government cooptation role while including black movements' demands and black people in bureaucracy while, at the same time, it undermines the role civil society should have regarding accountability. Thus, it is possible to say this condition is achieved; however, the role institutional racism or the management of affirmative policy must be considered carefully.

The conditions for effective implementation list the possible obstacles to the implementation process can encounter if the condition is not achieved or considered during a second phase of implementation. Considering institutional racism, conditions

three to six can facilitate or create conditions for its action. In this sense, the lack of veto or institution constrains to coerce officials to properly manage racial policies and the institution re-structuration to adequate to the new policy permitted the presence of institutional gaps that engender the maintenance of the structural racist character of institutions. The fourth condition supports the idea of the third one, but considering individuals' practices. When these individuals do not compromise with the idea or legitimacy of the policy a minimal effort is directed to the policy implementation. At same time a racist or contrary to the policy implementation individual can hide behind the institutional shield, a fact that creates difficulties to address racism and punish those responsible. These dynamics propitiate a vicious cycle that reinforce itself and neither the structured of domination not the racist character of individuals and institutions are addressed or considered by central governments. The fifth and sixth conditions focus on the support these policies should have to guarantee their existence over time. Although contradictions are observed, in general terms the result presently is favorable. However, a careful position is necessary because these conditions are the essential character of the advocacy coalition framework (ADF) in which a shared system of beliefs is spread among actor from private and public institutions and organization and can condition to the direction implementation process could follow. So, institutional racism can also be addressed as

the institutional and organizational failure to promote a professional and adequate service for people because of their color, culture, race or ethnic origin. It is

manifested in discriminatory norms, practices, and behavior adopted in the quotidian work day as a result of ignorance, lack of attention, prejudice, or racist stereotypes. In any situation, institutional racism always places people from racial or ethnic discriminated groups in a situation of disadvantage in accessing the benefits state and other organized institutions generate¹¹. [Translated by the author.]

The University of Brasilia's case is, then, a good example of how an affirmative policy is managed in an ambiguous environment, which most members demonstrate to be contrary to the policy, can block the full implementation or transformative potential the policy can present over time. Therefore, institutional racism can also be addressed as the process by which affirmative action is blocked while implementation is managed by those who share the non-necessity and non-legitimacy of this kind of policy as well as non-recognition of target population, blacks, as subjects of rights and a group deserving specific policies.

ADVOCACY COALITION FORMATION

Advocacy coalition framework (ACF) is a result of the observation over time of policy learning over time by observing the disputes, conflicts, and technical information involved in the policy implementation (Sabatier, 2007, 189). It was designed to analyze long-term policy processes by which a coalition could move and influence the way policies were implemented and to observe the learning process that enhances policy

¹¹ www.combateaoracismoinstitucional.com

changes. Coalitions are formed by a variety of actors that can come from public, private, and non-governmental institutions and organizations, civil society, intellectuals in general, media opinion-formers, public and private policy-makers, managers, and breakers, and a broader conjunct of non-identifiable actors.

The ACF starts with three “foundation stones”: (1) a macro-level assumption that most policy making occurs among specialists within a policy subsystem but that their behavior is affected by factors in the broader political and socio-economic system; (2) a micro-level “model of the individual” that is drawn heavily from social psychology; and (3) a meso-level conviction that the best way to deal within the multiplicity of actors in a subsystem is to aggregate them into “advocacy coalitions.” These foundations, in turn, affect our dependent variables, belief and policy change, through two critical paths: policy-oriented learning and external perturbations (Sabatier, 2007, 191-192).

The policy analysis conducted so far has discussed many aspects considering the framework, but at the same time highlighting necessary issues for policies that generate high social interest such as racial quota systems at universities. Thus, the focus was to show how the policy is framed from both bottom-up (actors and interests) and top-down (the formal aspects and general guidelines) positions which developed to a coalition dispute. As the objective is to investigate institutional racism through policy analysis, the ACF contributions to this thesis for the possibility of addressing clearer positions of both coalitions, even if the framework is not fully applied. The objective is to establish a map of common shared beliefs that have influenced policy change as well as investigate how the coalition contrary to affirmative policy for blacks addresses questions regarding black identity and the legitimacy of their demands in higher education. Although the required

time for ACF analysis is a decade or more of policy existence, the analyzed policy does not have this time of operation. However, the framework continues to be useful if the period before the decision is considered while focusing on the way actors have advocate for calling attention to the problem and for policy approval. Additionally, this usefulness derives from the development of the policy analysis that can be utilized to generalize its results from a specific case study to broader implications regarding national discussion as arena of external interference through the action of coalition groups. Therefore, if the topic or the policy was neither challenging the understanding of racial inequality nor the basic assumptions of the role of race in Brazil, such as racial democracy and national identity, UnB's internal policy would have never achieved the status of a localized policy that stimulated advocacy coalition formation and public dispute of antagonist interests, such as those Santos (2007) had demonstrated while discussing what was at stake with the access of blacks in higher education.

System of beliefs and policy change

Share beliefs are the core idea of advocacy coalition formation because they give individuals a causal understanding or theories about the world. These interpretations will guide their actions. One of assumptions of the system of beliefs analysis is that elites present a very well defined values and perceptions of a policy problem. Another assumption is the possibility of division of these beliefs into "deep core beliefs" that refer

to normative and ontological beliefs which are shared in many subsystems; “policy core beliefs” that consider the normative and perceptual policy interpretation over the subsystem of analysis; and “secondary aspects” that indicate the instrumental decisions that aims to implement the “policy core beliefs” (Sabatier, 1986; Sabatier&Jenkins-Smith, 1999; Zafonte&Sabatier, 2004). This research analyzes arguments contrary to the policy presented, before and during implementation, in order to investigate the hypothesis – institutional racism due to identity non-recognition and its non-legitimacy – while the focus of discourse analysis goes to the “Manifesto: of 113 cidadãos anti-racistas contra as leis raciais” (Manifest: 113 antiracist citizens against the racial laws) which was delivered to STF in April 2008. Additionally, beliefs are systematically classified for demonstrating that the policy change of 2012, approval of the new federal of quotas that will affected the implementation of this case study policy, is not a result of the policy process of learning as ACF supposed policy changes derived.

This change was not entirely the effect of a learning process as suggested by the model considering stability of external factors but rather, as I suggest, the change was the result a reorganization of the “loser” coalition in the court constitutional questioning for driving the center of affirmative action’s attention to the argument of class and changing the target population from blacks to public schools students, to poor’s and blacks in a variety of quantities among them. Affirmative Action concept is clear when this kind of policy is adopted for combating discriminatory practices. These policies aim to focus on those victims of discrimination not on those whose exclusion is related to poverty or

other social issues. For these cases, other kinds of policy are necessary. Although the racial issue is still very present as the first phase of adequacy of the new policy demonstrates, blacks are mostly benefited. The approval of the federal law for public school quota system at universities diminished the recognition of racism, discrimination, and their role on almost half of Brazilian population's lives. The debate quota system for blacks brought to the public sphere of discussion and dispute can be replaced as secondary or emptied of the necessity to implement concrete affirmative action for blacks as the case of "Estatuto da Igualdade Racial" (Racial Equality Statute) approval exemplified one year before (Santos, Santos, Bertúlio, 2010).

Santos (2007) described the main arguments, contrary and favorable, about the adoption of affirmative action for blacks, mainly as a response to the racial quota system. His analysis of the role of the black movement on these processes of adoption, while helping to approve a race policy in a contradictory and conservative environment where actors were mostly contrary to the adoption, had presented a summary of these arguments in a period before the approval and during the first phase of implementation of UnB's Plan of Goals. These arguments were a result of his dissertation field research which analyzed directed questionnaires, scientific and media articles, newspaper editorials, and debates published by written media. He highlighted the role of accredited intellectuals in supporting these arguments. Places where these actors are located are mostly Brazilian public universities, mainly those considered more prestigious.

In summary the main favorable arguments are as follow: a) a question of equity; b) racism affects blacks' school performances; c) racial diversity; d) rapidness for elimination of racial inequality by all means, legal and legitimate; e) important steps to achieve racial democracy; and f) compensation for discrimination toward blacks. Main contrary arguments are: a) quotas are an emulation of American model; b) racism in Brazil does not exist; c) Affirmative action is unconstitutional; d) merit is the unique criteria for admission; e) there would be racial discrimination toward whites; e) it is not possible to know who is black; f) the non-presence of blacks is for low-quality public schools not for racial discrimination; g) quotas would create of a racial tension; h) a school room cannot have a qualified (whites) and a disqualified (blacks) group together; and i) affirmative action creates another injustice (Santos, 2007, 44-45). I would like to highlight the argument that refers directly to the hypothesis. The difficult to identify blacks as a target population for affirmative action implementation can be addressed as the non-recognition of the necessity of this kind of policy by the simple fact that there is no race, thus, there is no racism. In this sense, a biological notion of race is emphasized as a method to distinguish Brazilian racial formation as a result of miscegenation and the impossibility of racial group definition, identification, and identity (personal, political, and governmental).

The process that "Democratas" (DEM - Democratic Party) presented to STF¹² arguing for the nullity of the public acts conducted by the University of Brasilia

¹² Superior Tribunal Federal – Supreme Court.

summarizes on its first page, the topics the process will address. It starts by announcing that they are neither questioning the affirmative action constitutionality as a minority inclusion policy because it recognizes the Brazilian state as a model of welfare state, nor are they addressing the existence of racism, prejudice, and discrimination in Brazilian society. Although their arguments can be considered an emulation of the arguments presented by the media and some other academic spaces, the process against the quota system and its core principals are fallacious and present a lack of empiric fundaments (Feres Jr., Daflon and Campos, 2010, 126). The process focuses on the critiques of the concept of race while trying to re-write the history of slavery, on the unique economic status of Brazilian inequalities, on the comparison of racial relations in other societies, and finally, on the arguments that the race policy will provoke racialization and conflicts. Feres Jr., Daflon, and Campos discursively analyzed the content of the juridical process that was questioning the University of Brasilia's racial quota system as a result of a coalition's actions over the process of policy implementation, but they systematically elucidate contradictions between the arguments.

First of all, the process critique of the concept of race is basically concentrated on the genetic or biological conceptualization of race. It affirms the incapacity of definition of who is black or not because the Brazilian population is mixed and, thus, it is impossible to define someone's race and the target population for race policy, indeed. However, this argument is already known by social sciences which analyze race for its social character, as they also recognize. Their contradiction is to suggest that only

genetics could define race or ancestral belonging because a phenotype is not enough to define race. Thus,

receding to objective criteria of analysis of genomic ancestry, from DNA exams, for identifying who in fact is 100% white in Brazil – and, therefore, non-subject to the benefits of the policy – would be the only way to implement racial quotas in a not doubtful manner (ADPF 186, 30). [Translated by the author.]

Following this idea, many of those who consider themselves as whites could be considered blacks, and vice-versa, a motive for the policy unviability. Therefore, the process “involuntary resuscitates what it argues to fear: the belief in biological races” (Feres Jr., Daflon and Campos, 2010, 128). As racism is a social construct by the way race is socially represented, reparatory policies must follow the same logic to correct the effects of racial discrimination. Secondly, they attempt to reinterpret the history of slavery by focusing on the argument that those who must be beneficiaries of affirmative policy are those direct descendants of slaves instead of the present population, which argue the effect of discrimination. Additionally, the process tries to deny the injustices of slavery by addressing that slavery among Africans existed and that they were chosen to forced work because the colonizer did not have a better economic option, not because they were blacks as a racial group. Subsequently, the argument is that Brazilian inequalities are not racial, or related to racism and discrimination, but a socio-economic feature of society. It affirms that redistribution policies would be enough to ameliorate this situation of black claimed exclusion. The allegation is that the social data based on

race and researched by credited Brazilian institutions are not trustful. The data is manipulated and the racial category of blacks is forged. Therefore, the social indicators that involve race are manipulated and are not trustful for policy implementation.

The process also compares segregation policies with affirmative policies in order to argue that race policy of any type will result in extermination and racist policies such as the Nazis courts. Regarding this strange comparison, it is useful to comment that

The ADPF accuses the Brazilian state of implanting in an “institutional racism, in the manner of United States’ practice, in Ruanda, and in South Africa” (p. 26). This rhetoric strategy tries to erase the moral distance between negative discrimination, which aims at the bad fate of those discriminated, versus positive discrimination, which tried to promote those who are in a situation of social marginalization. How can radically opposite measures on the moral standpoint be equated (Feres Jr., Daflon and Campos, 2010, 132)? [Translated by the author.]

Finally, most discussed and highlighted arguments by the media were the racialization of Brazilian society by the implementation of quota system in public universities and the intensification of racial conflicts, which did not exist before because racial identification was not required such as it is forced presently. However,

Some of the programs of affirmative action in our country are completing seven years and did not produced any tendency of exacerbation of racial conflict or even racialization of the university space, unless we consider the simple presence of non-white people in university seats as racialization’s evidence (Feres Jr., Daflon and Campos, 2010, 134). [Translated by the author.]

The topic regarding the difficulty of identification or its impossibility is current in all discussion and arguments. Considering the hypothesis of this thesis that institutional racism can also be understood by focusing on the non-recognition of black identity and the general ACF applicability, this research already indicates that black identity is not recognized as legitimate for demanding affirmative action. The shared belief that motivates the advocacy coalition formation and the juridical process against this policy with the presented arguments, questions the very notion of race and its importance in a social context of discriminatory practices. Inequality is naturalized as a social problem and black identity is not possible. The data related to racial identification is considered manipulated. In order to further investigate how black identity is framed, I would like to comment on how the contrary coalition exposed their opinions regarding black identity openly and publically in the Manifest of 133 while allocating the overall arguments on the policy system of beliefs. This manifest is considered essential because it was the first time a coalition's opinion was released for advocating the annulation of race policies. For the Manifest, a discourse analysis was conducted and it separated the main arguments of the understanding of racial relations in Brazil. It also distinguished the arguments regarding identity due to policy requirements and its insertion on the hypothesis of this inquiry.

The method of discourse analysis chosen was the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) based on foucauldian influences as a reference of recognition and (black) (queer) feminist theories for addressing the problematic of institutional racism framed as non-

recognition of blacks as subjects of rights on politics. This kind of analysis aims to find the knowledge that guides human actions by the meanings people utilize to interpret and to represent the world around them. Foucault highlighted the power relations of the knowledge production, institutionalization, and its maintenance through dispositives, which are the “constantly evolving synthesis of knowledge that is built into language, action and materialization (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, 56)”. According to Link, discourse is “an institutionalized way of thinking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power” (ibid., 35). The model was based on Jäger and Maier’s scheme that addresses the structural and detailed discourse analysis in order to offer tools for further research on analysis of dispositives, (ibid., 34). It was an attempt of systematization since those who have used the dispositive analysis, such as Foucault and Klemperer, have created their own methods of analysis and discussion. In this sense, this discourse analysis can indicate tendencies beyond coalitions’ and address how this knowledge or views of racial relations in Brazil and black identity is spread over groups under the influence of academic formation some of these coalition actors control.

Through CDA, a table is presented which represents the system of beliefs with the arguments from the discourse strand contrary to racial quotas in public universities. The main focus of this analysis was on the arguments that approach identity formation – black identity, Brazilian identity, miscegenation, identification processes. The presented topics are a summary of arguments that are common in the chosen documents and documentary for analysis after a process of coding by similar words or sentences. Thus, the table

construction is based in these three main documents: the documentary “Raça Humana”; the Manifest of 113 intellectuals, and the ADPF 186, the process in Court. This is also the first phase of critical discourse analysis that is the “structural analysis of the discourse strand” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, 53). The documentary “Raça Humana” was a production of “Câmara dos Deputados” (Chamber of Deputies) in 2010, a federal institution, that aimed to present the discussion to society about the arguments in favor and contrary to the adoption of racial quotas for blacks at the University of Brasilia while the process in Court was to be judged. The Manifest was also delivered to Court, but in a moment before the process against UnB, and expressed the opinion of some those who controled the production of knowledge, such as Professors in the highly-evaluated public universities in Brazil as well as media, other professionals, and civil society, among them black activists. And finally, the ADPF 186 is the process presented to STF in order to question the constitutionality of the racial quota system at UnB. These arguments are considered also a summary of those arguments that have been presented by the media, television and newspapers, which had assumed a declared position against the adoption of race policy. A more equilibrated debate was not possible to be observed to the general reader or viewer.

System of Beliefs
Deep Core Beliefs
Biological races do not exist.
Brazilian Society and national identity are mixed: culturally and biologically.
Brazilian society is not racist. Racist are those who address the separation of races, the racialization of Brazilian society.
Policy Core Belief
Discrimination is not a factor for higher education non-access. Poverty is the reason.
Target policy population is not identifiable because miscegenation is the character of Brazil and its people. Classification methods are not valid.
“Negros” can only be identified without doubt by DNA testing which would prove the ancestry of a person.
Secondary Beliefs
“Negro” identification as group is a threat to Brazilian identity . The internalization of group identity is ideologically dangerous and can cause conflicts.
The state is responsible for creating races because it is forcing racial identification.
Blurred racial lines is a fact and the proof is the existence of evaluative commissions universities have used to testify racial belonging or color (photograph and interview).

Table 1: System of Beliefs

A detailed analysis of the Manifest of 113 was conducted with the objective to demonstrate some effects of argued discourses in a broader scope. The diversity of signers and the presentation in the press and audio-visual media was remarkable. This detailed analysis focuses on six main description of the text: context, surface of the text, rhetorical means, content and ideological statements, other peculiarities, and finally, discussion positions and overall message of the chosen textual piece (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, 55). Regarding the context analysis, this document was chosen because it was the

first public letter where a coalition of different actors was concretely observed. The Manifest is considered a typical document because it is a synthesis of arguments used later in the process in Court against UnB (2009) and other public debates such as the one represented in the documentary (2010). The Manifest was written on behalf of civil society intellectuals, syndicalists, entrepreneurs, and activists of black movements and other social movements in 2008. Its position is openly contrary to racial quotas adoption due to the argued threat to political and juridical order of the Brazilian Republic. It was presented for the eminence of the judgment of “Ações Diretas de Inconstitucionalidade” (ADI – Indirect Action of Unconstitutionality) by STF against the state law that institutionalized racial quotas, among other variables, in the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) in 2001; and against the “Programa Universidade para Todos” (ProUni – University for All), which offers fellowship to low-income students in private Universities with blacks among them. STF judged both actions as unfounded.

The second aspect is the surface of the text. The Manifest presents neither pictures nor headings. The layout was of a normal letter. In structures of meaning, the article entirely reflects the arguments that were exposed in the system of beliefs. The same arguments are repeated multiple times. The main topics refer to the racialization of Brazilian society, which presents anti-racist characteristics and values cultural and biological miscegenation as national identity, and the liberal concept of equality under the law, which does not permit any kind of discrimination and relies on merit. Racial quota systems have implemented forced racial identification that is considered a result of

ideological invention from racism. In summary, the way arguments are entangled with each other in this text is under a discourse of the eminent threat represented by the state implementing race policies, such as racial quotas, to Brazilian national identity and society cohesion, indeed. Thus, stimulating racial identities is renouncing citizenship.

The third part of analysis refers to the rhetorical means used. The most commonly used strategy is to compare the adoption of a racial quota system to system of racialization that resulted in segregation policies such as United States, Ruanda, and South Africa. At the same time the Manifest argues for the anti-racist and racial mixed character of Brazilian society that blurs the lines between races as a positive characteristic that distinguish Brazil from these countries. Demanding the adoption of a race policy is an ideological racist position that creates racism by focusing on race as those countries have demonstrated. The logical line is to condemn this kind of policy, not affirmative action for other groups, for racial groups as an “arbitrary” and “shameful” way to solve Brazilian social and educational inequalities by importing models that did not work in other societies and brought racial conflicts. The focus must be on social policy not racial policy. The main implication of these arguments is the incentive of racism by those who considered themselves being discriminated against and excluded by racial discriminatory practices and claim race policy implementation. As Professor Munanga always stated in his public presentations, Brazilian racism is so perfect that the victims became the culprit. The Manifest stated the existence of racism and discrimination in Brazil, but defends the anti-racist and anti-discriminatory character of

Brazilian society. Thus, it seems to consider the phenomena of racism as individual behavior not structural that blocks blacks to achieve higher education, for example. Actually, it questions even the classification of blacks by the state regarding the non-link between ancestry and skin color genetically. The statistic usage refers to the data about the access of the poor to higher education in order to argue the problem is a social issue which is not linked with racial groups. Some groups, in general, are excluded by poverty. Another statistical presentation is about the quantity of genes that are responsible for differentiation among humans for arguing the biological non-existence of race. The final presented statistical data refers to the Brazilian “*imaginário da identidade*” (identity imagination) that demonstrates people’s preference for interracial marriage and self-classification as brown as a positive feature of national identity that is “violated intellectually” when aggregated with blacks to form the racial category of black by state institutions.

The Manifest basically used three main clichés: the equality under the law; the non-existence of biological races; and the racialization of Brazilian society. These three ideas permeate not only the Manifest but many manifestations of opinion of this coalition contrary to the adoption and continuity of race policy and they can be found in every piece of text that criticizes race policy adoption. The usage of adjectives is very interesting due to the framing of the topic, quotas, and its forced racialization. Words carry a clear negative meaning and even extrapolate the ability of the reader in linking some negative characters of a noun, such as racism. Some of these words or group of

words are: “o racismo contamina” (racism infects), biological use for a spread disease; “as cotas raciais nos marca a ferro em brasa” (racial quotas mark us by hot iron), as enslaved people were marked by their masters; “critérios raciais abomináveis” (abominable racial criteria), refereeing to racial classification; “violência intelectual” (intellectual violence) of the unification of black and brown categories by state institutions; “raça verdadeira” (true race) while discussing the blurred character of Brazilians in terms of races and the attempt to officially define race; “barbaridades inomináveis” (unnamed barbarities) is used to comment the results from other societies that adopted racial classification and policies; “crença na raça” and “veneno do racismo” (Belief on race and racism poison) are the result of official racial classification and it could mean the revision of Brazilian identity; and “precipício intransponível das identidades raciais” (unbridgeable chasm of racial identities) as the result of this process and the advocacy for the failure of equality in Brazilian future. All these arguments are funded in historical and juridical reference as well as studies of genetics, statistics, and social sciences. Facts that aim to confirm the scientific and analytical character of the Manifest which is assigned by many intellectuals and who are responsible for the production of knowledge in their respective jobs as professors and researchers, for example.

The fourth part of the discourse analysis focuses on the content and ideological statements. Following this logic, the concept of human kind adopted is that only one race exists biologically, the human race. Dividing humans by race, officially or not, is an act

of racism that aims to racialize societies. Brazilian society is framed and conceptualized as racially mixed and anti-racist. These characteristics are the core of Brazilian national identity construction that is mixed biologically and culturally. Diversity is welcome and multiculturalism must be and are celebrated. The perspectives for the future with the adoption of racial policies in general and racial quota systems in particular is the internalization of idea of race that will separate groups racially and will promote conflict and threat to national identity as well as will stimulate “hate” and “rancor” that “unbridgeable chasm of racial identities” will bring to Brazil. The fifth variable of analysis is peculiarity. I considered this text peculiar mainly for reproducing an ideology of the racial democracy without declaring it openly. The simple fact that in their opinion race does not influence any aspect of a person’s life is a signal that they believe Brazil is a unified nation with a unique identity, and it must stay the way it already is. The method to address and to combat present deep social inequalities must be focused on poverty and on implementation of social and educational policies for accessing education. Race is not a considerable variable because there is not an identifiable race in Brazil; racial claims of identity are considered an ideological construction.

The sixth aspect of this detailed critical discourse analysis is to address the discussion position and the overall message. The discourse position is clearly allocated on the contrary side for adopting race policy and racial quota systems. Affirmative action to other groups such as women and people with disabilities is well stated to be acceptable and necessary. However, for blacks, opponents of affirmative action refuse by the simple

fact that black identity is ideologically constructed and not an individual claim, indicating the path suggested by this thesis' hypothesis that addresses the permanence of racism and its institutional action for the non-recognition of black identity as valid and legitimate, consequently, racial identity is not enough for demanding public policies based on the discrimination of this identity. The main message this Manifest aimed to give society and those responsible for the judgment was the responsibility for the “foreseen” or “predicted” results of adoption of race policy and racial classification of individuals and groups, i.e., racialization. In fact, the objective is to affirm and defend racial democracy from the threat of the “supposed” national cohesion by these policies conducted by state institutions.

This discourse analysis is based on Foucault's critiques of knowledge, which is connected to power relations in a determined society (Foucault, 1989). These discourses can be extended to the analysis of dispositives, which are responsible for the materialization of non-discursive practices. However, the objective for choosing discourse analysis was to demonstrate how the interpretation against the adoption of racial quota systems can be extended to the level of knowledge production and reproduction. Although, the dispositive analysis is not conducted in the scope of this research, some indications can be considered in aggregation with the ACF analysis of policy process and the construction of a system of beliefs. Consider for a moment the context of analysis and affirmative action management in a non-welcoming environment (case study and generally). The non-discursive practices can be considered the action of

public managers responsible for the implementation and their non-compromise with the policy, its importance, and its relevance for combating racism and discrimination; therefore, institutional racism. As the model of ACF offers a shared understanding of this question, the motivation for (non)action is (already) presented. Further research can determine how real these shared beliefs are on managers' (non)action under state institutions. The suggested materialization of these beliefs in institutional racism can rely on the non-recognition of blacks as complete subjects of rights because identification is observed as an ideological threat to Brazilian national identity as well as black identity which is constructed arbitrarily as suggested by discourse analysis. The data on violence, among other fields, indicates that the black population has been clearly positioned in disadvantage in social insertion and mobility. Thus, the materialization of these non-discursive practices can be the extension of institutional racism while the concrete data explicitly shows black exclusion. Institutional racism is very difficult to localize, address, and conceptualize. It is considered to be very broad and structural, although it also can aggregate individual behaviors supported by an institutional structure. In the Brazilian case, it is supported by a state where racism was used as a motivator for incentivizing sanitary policies to bleach African heritage and color for years. The state's government changes and addresses racial exclusion; however, institutions have this marked heritage of non-discursive actions that continue to block black access and do not broadly manifest interest in creating institutional constraints to force implementation by combating the action of those who are not compromised.

This system of beliefs shared by those members of advocacy coalition contrary to the adoption of race policy, conducted the Brazilian state and government to an ambiguous position. Although affirmative action based on the discourse of ending discrimination practices was extended by the last governments, the extension of its implementation continue to be restricted such as demonstrated by Inesc (2012), which has discussed the motives for the non-using of approved budget in 2012 for these actions. Less the 10% of the money was actually utilized in favor of these policies in different fields. For the next budget plan, racial expenditure is aggregated with other factors and considered hidden and non-priority. Thus, the government has extended the agenda of application at the same time it has not created any constrain for its implementation such as the University of Brasilia case study also demonstrated. Institutions are not excused of the influences of the patrimonial and slavery past nor are they exempted from the leverage of managers' beliefs. The gaps in action are neither filled with the anti-racist character of Brazilian society, so repeatedly argued, nor are anti-discriminatory practices implemented.

The model utilized by this thesis' analysis, ACF, aims to observe policy changes over time as a process of learning about public officials and as a result of the influences of advocacy coalitions. The case study policy has changed by federal intervention due to the approval of a new law that established quotas for students that have completed high school education in public schools, among them blacks and low-income students. Interestingly, this law 12.711/2012 was immediately approved after the declaration of the

constitutionality of affirmative action in general, and racial quota systems in particular as the case analyzed. It is important to note that the process on court did not question affirmative action theory. Rather the court understood the racial quota system as an affirmative policy and judged its validity and constitutionality under Brazilian juridical system as valid and as still a necessary measure. Considering this fact, it is possible to affirm that the coalition contrary to the adoption of race policy has lost in the courts. However, its members are spread over other spheres of power. As they could not cancel the race policy, they advocated for the approval of the federal law which has been transacting in the National Congress since 1999, when suddenly, it appeared in the scenario as an expansion of inclusion for students from public school, the “real” victims, of the unjust educational system and the policy recommendation of the contrary coalition to combat social inequalities. Although racial quotas are still present, their relevance over the public debate and the real focus of affirmative action changed from discrimination to combat social inequality. It disregarded the role racism has over people of any kind of social condition or income. Considering the CDA, it is reasonable to address that this was a political move because the bill was rapidly approved, well structured, and without further changes for quick presidential approval. Thus, policy change was mainly a result of coalition action and influence over the legislation system. The state demonstrates again a contradiction: how can affirmative action be used as a social policy? Public school students are not discriminated because they study in public schools; on the contrary, some public schools are better than many private schools which are and mostly occupied by

white middle class. This social public school quota system does not necessarily embrace nor will be it open to black inclusion after the first phase of implementation. It must be observed attentively as implementation starts next year, 2013. It seems that the understanding that relies on the contrary coalition arguments that social quota for low-income and for public school students should solve the racial exclusion problem. Therefore, they seem to have won the battle to remove racism and racial discrimination of the discussion. Social and public school quotas were adopted with a mandatory character and were to be implemented immediately. Identification is free and does not have any kind of control policy for frauds of identification for the supposed idea of easiness of entrance as has happened before in many universities and was the motivator for the creation of commissions for evaluation. Furthermore, it is also possible to indicate that they are planning the policy failure by approving it while not considering some mistakes experienced by other policies' implementations.

Finally, is the hypothesis supported by field research and policy analysis? The research indicates that it is possible to affirm the presence of institutional racism due to the non-recognition of black identity as legitimate for demand specific public policy, affirmative action. From the results that the extension coalition members can achieve, the interpretation of data that considers race as important are evaluated as not valid and trustful; thus, the data that public policy relies on for acting is refuted. Considering the coalition arguments, racial exclusion in Brazilian society is not a racial issue; it is a result related to poverty because Brazilians present only one race, the human race, and it is

mixed. The right to claim and affirm identity by blacks is denied; consequently, they are excluded by force in Brazilian society in all spheres, from economic to political. How can managers, who are educated under the influence of these intellectuals that advocate for the unity of national Brazilian identity believe in the importance of their work as motivators for action while being responsible for race policy implementation? How can they implement a policy that they do not believe or agree with their existence? How to implement a policy in which they do not recognize the “proved” existence of the target population as a racial group? Following this logic, doubts exist about the implementation of affirmative action for blacks in Brazil by managers. On one hand, these policies are expanded by law; on the other, they do not advance. Thus, these policies are affirming at the same time that they are denying race as a variable for maintenance of inequalities, which need attention in Brazil. As a result of these dynamics, institutional racism persists over the implementation of affirmative action in Brazil. A problematic issue arose for the choice for combating discrimination to be seen as a solution for social problems when affirmative action seems to be addressed as a social policy. Therefore, the logic of addressing non-recognition and redistribution of income are inserted in only one sector, affirmative measures, while the transformative ones are not considered as an additional way for the improvement of Brazilian society and citizens of any race and color. Questions about the role of affirmative action in Brazil remain: is it really affirmative? Does it really include blacks? Or these dynamics represent its denial?

Conclusion

This thesis has addressed the persistence of institutional racism considering the lack of recognition of black Brazilians as subjects of rights by focusing on how identity is framed and contextualized in Brazilian racial formation processes. The topic of institutional racism regarding identity appeared as questions I have had since I was a student at the University of Brasilia. I was enrolled a political science major from 2008 to 2010 as a student from the racial quota system. I also participated in “Afroatitude” Program as a scientific initiation researcher while had experienced other professional environments. As a “fresh-woman” student, I did not understand the racial dynamic at the university because I found it very difficult to talk about or even to comment about racial issues and the quota system among my colleagues, and I found it difficult to know who was from the quota system or not. After all, everyone just wanted to graduate and not to discuss politics on race. Having the chance to participate in these programs to be politically informed, to critically research race relations; have changed my world views and my position as a senior student who self-identified as a “feminista negra” (black feminist). I was curious about affirmative action and its implementation since UnB was in public debate and media, when in fact, these dialogues were very difficult in the university environment in my opinion. For example, if I had not voluntarily attended the course “Contemporary Black Thought”, probably I would not have been able to enter the topic of race since no course in political science addressed it. There also was a problem

of identification because some students were afraid to suffer if they declared to be from the quota system; furthermore, others were hidden by not declaring or identifying themselves as blacks and being from the system.

As a trainee working for the university, I had the chance to know the dynamic of acceptance or not of the quota system and the non-recognition of the importance of the policy by managers responsible for its implementation. Additionally, I had observed that to implement the secondary policies in addition to entrance was very difficult and was not considered something worthy for them. While working with these policies, some staff members had to be constant convinced by other staff members and professors in order to confirm some activity, support students, and have access to data. It is interesting that even the data about the students were not systematically organized for further evaluation while the program has been developed and can cause disturbances when the programs concludes in two years , a fact that shows the university's lack of interest on the system. Fortunately, some people interested and worried about the positive results of the policy were committed with the secondary implementation and made miracles in this direction. Therefore, these personal experiences were the motivation that shaped my research questions and the interest of investigating institutional racism while observing identity recognition and legitimacy of blacks in demanding specific public policies.

Some sectors of the black movements had formulated and conducted the agenda of affirmative action implementation through negotiations with the current government party by its constituency bases, for example. Although these movements have

successfully carried out racial agenda, affirmative action is not enough for combating racial discrimination and racism as well as it does not contest the system of racial and social domination. Additionally, affirmative policies are limited by the extension of its action because only few people are benefitted considering the numbers. Thus, the social disparities are not solved either. These policies have also generated disagreements among black social movements regarding their adoption or not. Indeed, they pointed out the necessity of addressing other problems related to black exclusion than university access such as those related to violence, health, job market. Furthermore, affirmative action discussion in Brazil was mainly focused on higher education access instead of addressing the benefits that a combined action with other initiatives for promoting black inclusion. Therefore, pointing out the limitations of affirmative action does not diminish its important on Brazilian political history mainly for questioning the basic liberal idea that corroborate domination that everyone is equal under the law. Unfortunately, some are more equal than others and because of it affirmative action is a still necessary measure even if it is considered to be a palliative measure that does not change the social order.

The indications that this research brought from the analysis of the policy process of the case study highlighted the possibility of its broadness. The shared belief system is assumed to be the motivation of coalition formation and action, in which their actors' opinions are spread all over the public and private spaces in organizations and institutions. This information can be utilized for further policy implementation and education of public managers if their general opinions about race and race policy are

mapped. Institutional racism is a difficult and complex topic to address because its existence is denied, and when it is recognized as it had been by the previous governments, those responsible for addressing it by government programs are not convincing or motivating enough. Indeed, managers can assume individually racist postures consciously or not. As the discourse analysis demonstrated, even racism is denied as the character of Brazilian society and racial identification is recognized as a racist posture. In this sense, the state, or at least the current and future governments, has to assumed a more incisive posture and to create institutional constrains or rewards for action in order to coerce or to motivate public managers to support the policy agenda more effectively. It is not enough to be favorable to adoption of a race policy if they are not being implemented such as the budged expenditure of 2012 demonstrated by not using all the reserved funds on affirmative action implementation and expansion (Inesc, 2012).

The role of the state is essential in this discussion and needs to be addressed and revised mainly due to the welfare state, anti-racist, and the pro-inclusive character of the Brazilian Constitution of 1988. Despite its ambiguous position about race policy discussion in the Supreme Court and in the Legislative Branch, it has permitted affirmative action to be considered as a positive goal and a tool for combating racial discrimination, while it also permits implementation of social policy by affirmative means, a fact that denies the main objective of the affirmative action principle that is to promote equality for those discriminated against. For poverty reduction and educational

system amelioration, social policies are constructed with these goals and need to be properly addressed and implemented. In fact, affirmative measures are necessary when the scope of action of universal policies, social policies included, are not achieving their objectives regarding the differences that mark some populations, differences that have characteristics other than class, such as race, gender, sexuality, and physical impairment. Thus, using affirmative policies for addressing social issues related to class is at the same time a contradiction of the principle by which determined that affirmative policies creation and the (re)assumption that race does not count in blocking access to higher education, in spite of the fact that these populations are clearly benefited in the first phase of implementation. Furthermore, the role of state is considered here not only a focus on the federal government, but in every sphere of public power including public universities.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework was useful to present the policy evolution since its process of discussion to implementation to the coalition formation at a national level. The system of belief construction was also important for providing a tool of analysis that can be extended to broader analysis, mainly when this analysis makes it possible to localize the deep core beliefs that actors implement in the policy planning and development field, reproducing racist practices consciously or not. Thus, the possible extension of the beliefs about race, race identity, and race policy is a fact that requires more investigation regarding other race policies beyond higher education access in order to analyze what interests are at stake and if opinions, references, and arguments are essentially comparable or not. If they are, then the proposition of specific actions of

combating institutional racism can be designed. This research has presented indications of another way institutional racism can be framed regarding black identity recognition and legitimacy for affirmative policy. As discourse analysis demonstrated, to combat racism generally and institutionally, deeper analysis must be provided to managers and to society in which cases official data about race and about exclusion are not accepted by a majority.. As this research has demonstrated about non-acceptance from the debate the UnB's case have nationally promoted, further research is necessary in other state spheres to frame the possibility if extension of a observed pattern. Therefore, in order to start to demystify the continuing presence of racial democracy understanding of Brazilian society. Some topics need more analysis: concepts of racial identity, racism, and racial discrimination; the motivation for aggregation "pretos" (blacks) e "pardos" (browns) of color categories into racial category of "negro" (black) as valid; the necessity of addressing the non-natural character of racial groups' inequality; the recognition that race has a role in people of color's lives; and the necessity of more publications beyond the controlled or coalition adherent mass media.

For the exiting dilemma of the Brazilian state and society, a more profound way to analysis race relations, race policy, and identity politics is at the core for a path of a future change. Challenges for those who research race and advocate for racial justice are enormous, difficult, and they will take years to be observable concretely considering that some black movements are not very active while some other groups are coopted by the state. In ten years, we will be able to observe the consequences of the present

contradictory actions of Court decisions and new laws on the social, juridical, political, and racial systems. Additionally, over these future years, we are going to be able to observe if affirmative action used as a social policy will be useful to make Brazilian universities more colored and diverse as well as combating racism and discriminatory practices without implementing transformative measures that aggregated all the systems and subsystem of society. The considerations of the theoretical discussion on the non-necessity of a fixed and essential black identity for collective action, identity claims, its affirmation, and the aggregated research results that demonstrated that the very core of the meaning of black identity is questioned giving us clues about how to discuss theory based on people's framing and understanding of reality. Bring those positions to theory construction is essential when knowledge is consciously utilized to produce justice or injustice and in this specific case, when the reality of racism is presented by its denial and naturalization. As Bell advocated, we have to face racism by the way it is and "then be free to imagine and activate racial strategies that can bring fulfillment and even triumph (Delgado and Stefancic, 2005, 85)". Thus, considering the reality of racism and its framing of black identity, this research points out more questions such as the following: Is it possible to blacks be accepted as such, regarding their racial identity? Can they be socially included and racially recognized? Can they achieve the full status of citizenship? Can Brazilian democracy be really pluralist with equal political participation? Can economic redistribution and cultural recognition be overcome?

As a black female graduate student and an advocate for feminism, I believe our experiences shape who we are and who we want to be. It does not replace theory but it helps to understanding the material world that theory addresses. I believe it was essential to this thesis production to think about my experiences in order to clarify the facts and to observe aspects not covered by interviews and focus group discussion. When I was a teenager, I never imagined one day I could go to as good a university as the University of Brasilia or to be able to be study in graduate school in an American university as the University of Texas at Austin, the access to university by racial quotas had offered me possibilities not imagined. However, being a student from a quota system in a racist educational system and society elucidated the necessity we have in understanding relations of power and domination we face in our everyday lives. The reality is that we must empower ourselves with arguments, skills, and tools in order to combat racism and discrimination that tell us all the time we are doomed to fail or that you have to be the best to be considered as worthy and recognized. This reality is present even in personal and family lives of many blacks. I believe that every piece of work that touches the racial wound in our world, specifically Brazil which is still bleeding while it is denied, is one step closer to collaborate towards the struggle against oppression.

Feminism is a struggle to end sexist oppression. Therefore, it is necessarily a struggle to eradicate the ideology of domination that permeates Western culture on various levels as well as a commitment to reorganizing society so that the self-development of people can take precedence over imperialism, economic expansion, and material desires. Defined in this way, it is unlikely that women would join feminist movement simply because we are biologically the same. A

commitment to feminism so defined would demand each individual participant acquire a critical political consciousness based on ideas and beliefs (hooks, 2010, 52).

Therefore, I finished with this thesis addressing that advocating feminism also means advocating for the ending of any kind of domination and its ideologies, such as the continual approach of Brazilian relations as a race democracy that maintain us, blacks, guilty for claiming our racial identity and opportunities for chances to dream, to live, and to have a future.

Glossary

ABPN – Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores Negros (Brazilian Association of Black Researches)

ADAC – Assessoria de Diversidade e Apoio aos Cotistas (Diversity and Support to Quota System Students Advisory)

AIDS – Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

CDA -

CEPE – Conselho de Ensino, Pesquisa e Extensão (Teaching, Researching, and Extension Council)

FUNAI – Fundação Nacional do Índio (Indigenous National Foundation)

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics)

Ipea – Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (Institute of Applied Economic Research)

NEAB – Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros (Afro-Brazilian Study Group)

Seppir – Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial (Special Secretary of Policies for Promotion of Racial Equality)

UN – United Nations

UnB – Universidade de Brasília (University of Brasília)

UNEB – Universidade Estadual da Bahia (State University of Bahia)

U.S. – United States

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